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No. 312



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CHINA REPORT  
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### KEY ISSUES IN STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET HEGEMONISM

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 1, Oct 81 pp 1-11

[Article by Qi Ya [0796 0068] and Zhou Jirong [0719 4764 2837]: "Some Key Issues in the Struggle against Hegemonism"]

[Text] Does Soviet social imperialism still wish to pursue expansionism in spite of all kinds of difficulties? How should the Russia policy of the Reagan government be regarded? How do the conflicts between the United States and its allies influence the strategic coordination against Soviet hegemonism? How should the role of the Third World in the struggle against hegemonism be assessed? What is the basic tendency of the Soviet-U.S. contention and the prospect for world peace?

In the second year of the eighties, the tidal wave to defend peace and oppose hegemonism throughout the world continues to rush forward. The flagrant Soviet occupation of Afghanistan by force at the end of the seventies has become the focus of world attention; the Cambodian people are waging a bitter struggle against the Vietnamese armed invasion; whether the turmoil of the Polish political situation will lead to Soviet armed intervention is also a concern of the world people; storms are rocking South Africa and the Caribbeans. In another aspect, there are the war between Iran and Iraq which neither side can halt, the repeated crises in Lebanon, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor by Israel, the spreading international terrorism, etc. All these indicate that the eruption points of a global crisis are ever increasing in number, manifesting the characteristic of the growing unrest of the international situation. The aggression and expansion of hegemonism in many areas in the world are the main source for the aggravation of the turbulent international situation and the disruption of world peace. So long as all peace loving forces in the world unite and wage a firm and efficient struggle against hegemonism and against aggression and expansion and effectively handle all the difficult situations, it will be possible to stave off the outbreak of a world war and preserve international peace for a relatively long period of time. This article expresses some views on several often discussed key issues in the current struggle against hegemonism.

## Does Soviet Social Imperialism Still Wish to Pursue Expansionism in spite of All Kinds of Difficulties?

As Soviet social imperialism faces a fairly large number of difficulties, recent international opinion wonders whether its expansionism will be somewhat "restrained," and some people even feel that, strategically, it has already withdrawn to the "defensive." True, it is facing a series of difficulties at home and abroad, and finds its ability unequal to its aspirations. But the situation is not enough to check its expansionist ambitions and momentum.

In terms of its current international situation, the tendency that more and more countries are uniting against Soviet expansionism is developing, and the greatest strategic difficulty encountered by the Soviet Union is the unfavorable situation of simultaneous operations on the Eastern and Western fronts. Politically, it finds itself in an unprecedentedly isolated international position. Its direct occupation of Afghanistan by force, thereby ripping off the disguise of "supporting the national liberation movement," aroused world anger, encountering censure from all sides and finding itself a defendant at all international forums. The recent international conference on the Cambodia issue initiated by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in the United Nations indicated that a growing number of nations in the world are upholding the standpoint against Soviet hegemonism. Economically, it is laboring under a heavy load. According to the estimates of the U.S. government and others, it has spent \$4 billion for Afghanistan in the past year or more; its military and economic aid to Vietnam costs \$3 to \$6 million per day; its aid to Cuba is \$7 to \$8 million per day. The heavy burden has further aggravated the already difficult Soviet economy. Militarily, it has landed itself in a "Vietnam-type war" in Afghanistan, a quagmire for manpower and materiel. To the Soviet leaders aiming at a quick battle for a quick decision, it is a strategic miscalculation, thereby causing it to run into an insurmountable obstacle in the crucial move of its southward strategy.

In addition, the struggles of the Eastern European countries against the Soviet social imperialist domination continues without cessation. The continuous turmoil of the Polish situation is extremely troublesome. Western publications say that "Walesa is a figure which drives the Kremlin insane." Brezhnev cried out in alarm at the 26th Soviet Party Congress that a "fundamental threat" to the "large family" member nations has emerged in Poland. Though Soviet hegemonism has redoubled its pressure, it is worried that, if not handled properly, the situation may lead to yet another severe censure by world opinion, an all-out resistance by the Polish people and the chain reaction of other member nations, basically rocking its patriarchal position in the "large family," disrupting the overall arrangements painstakingly made by it with Europe as the strategic focus, and even encountering a disaster itself. Therefore, it must guard against the danger of the eruption of anything similar to the Polish incident at home. What deserves attention is that, once losing control of the Polish situation, it may possibly launch an armed intervention.

Nor is the domestic situation of Soviet social imperialism very encouraging. Besides the inherent national contradictions, the social issues, the rigidification of the system, the "aging" of the leadership, etc., the more serious are its economic problems. The 8th, 9th and 10th (1976-1980) 5-year plans all failed to reach their targets. With the poor grain harvest continuing for years, the depreciation of the rouble and the rise of commodity price, the dissatisfaction of the people is growing. One important factor for its deep-rooted economic difficulties is the unmanageable gigantic military budget. Yet the 26th Soviet Party Congress did not prescribe any recipe to improve the economic situation.

While the internal and external difficulties of Soviet social imperialism are many, our assessment must be appropriate. There are both gains and losses in its expansionist aspect. It has gained control over, or created single-handedly, certain pro-Soviet regimes, developed a number of military bases and acquired some economic benefits. It has also made progresses in certain aspects in domestic construction. While its economic growth rate has dropped, it is, after all, still growing, showing a 3.8 percent gain for the year 1979-1980. "Soviet imperialism is not merely a paper bear."\* Unduly stressing the feeling that its difficulties will restrain its expansion will make our assessment inaccurate.

The Soviet social imperialist expansionism has a profound historical source. As early as in the 17th century, Peter I said: "When Russia can freely enter the Indian Ocean, it will gain military and political control in the world." By carrying out the southward strategy today and taking the serious measure of armed invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet hegemonism is continuing the ambition of the tsar to enter the Indian Ocean. Its southward advances to the Persian Gulf and the Pacific are all a continuation of the tsarist policy of seeking a warm ocean. It is impossible for it to lightly abandon this historical tradition of expansionism.

Currently, Soviet hegemonism still possesses the strength for expansion, and is intensifying its global strategy. Its military strength rivals the United States. Its economic foundation remains fairly solid. Its leaders brag that "the state economy can be converted to the wartime track at any given moment." Its various resources are also relatively abundant. Meanwhile, the basic goal of the Soviet Union in its global strategy to dominate the world, formed in the course of its degeneration into social imperialism, can be summarized as follows: Make the United States the main opponent; make Europe the strategic focus, outflanking Europe from the Mideast and Africa and placing the NATO nations in a predicament of "being unable to fight even while wishing to do so;" make Asia and the Pacific an important strategic region and coordinate the Eastern and Western fronts; intensify the expansion into the Third World and other crucial or weak regions. The main means of implementation is: Backed by military strength, carry out nuclear blackmail; with "detente"

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\* U.S. "UNITY," 5 May 1981

as the banner, resort to political strategy; continuously enhance its economic strength and use "economic bait" as the supplement; seek "global victory by all means other than total war," thereby dominating the world. Large numbers of conclusive authentic facts indicate that it has started, and will actively pursue, such strategy. It continues to launch contentions in various ways with the United States in Europe, the cockpit, and seeks to take Europe "by strategy" under a "nuclear stalemate." On the one hand, backed by military strength, it continues to enhance its superiority over Western Europe, and forces the latter to submit by utilizing its psychology of fear of war. On the other hand, with "detente" as the banner, it attempts to split Western Europe, disintegrate NATO and gradually elbow U.S. influence out of Europe. The Italian CORRIERA DELLA SERA declares that what Soviet hegemonism pursues in Europe is "an indirect strategy to make Europe collapse without firing a shot." At the same time, it steps up its southward strategy and vigorously reinforces its infiltration and expansion in the Mideast and Africa, pressing on Hormuz Strait, the "key link" of the thoroughfare of oil and resources for the West, and encircling and blocking Europe. Until now, it still stubbornly refuses to withdraw from Afghanistan and attempts to follow the policy of gobbling up the weak nations of Central Asia once pursued by the tsars in history, turning Afghanistan into a "bridgehead" for its southward march to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, directly exposing Iran and Pakistan to its military threat, coordinating with the position already under its control in the Red Sea region, forming a pincer attack posture on the Gulf, and creating a favorable military situation in the Mideast, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. It is also strengthening the strategic offense on the Eastern front and actively reinforcing its military strength in Asia and the Pacific region, vigorously pursuing the "dumbbell" strategy, intensifying the buildup of the Cam-ranh base, supporting Vietnam's continued invasion of Cambodia, attempting to control the situation of the entire Indochina, using it as a "springboard" to close in on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and dominate the Strait of Malacca, the "vital passage" between the two oceans, and thereby linking the Eastern front with its southward move and connecting the Eastern and Western fronts. Meanwhile, it "ships advanced weapons to Cuba on an almost record creating level," transshipping a part of them to El Salvador and Nicaragua. Through Cuba, it is doing its utmost to infiltrate the Caribbeans and watching for an opportunity to fight its way into other crucial regions in the Third World. At present, it concentrates on the unstable and weak areas, so that it will gain substantial strategic benefits at relatively low risks. It has also built a military strength far in excess of its defense needs, vigorously pursues nuclear intimidation, reinforces the military deployment of the various theaters of operation, and actively prepares to fight all types of war. It ceaselessly varies its tactics of the "detente strategy," and launches "peace offensives" one after another, utilizing the pacifist trend to further its treachery. The "peace" appeal issued by the 26th Soviet Party Congress is "the suggestion of the fox in the chicken coop," and the purpose is to shift the line of vision from Afghanistan and Cambodia, alienate the relations between Europe and the United States, exert pressure on the West to follow



the principle of "detente" with the Soviet Union, sabotage U.S. deployment of nuclear arms in Western Europe and preserve its military superiority and political pressure in Western Europe. We must not mistake its "olive branch" as a retreat. Furthermore, under the names of "economic cooperation" and "military and economic aid," it gains economic benefits and political control. Not only wishing to consolidate the sphere of influence already acquired, but it ceaselessly watches for an opportunity to launch new expansions. All these indicate that the Soviet offensive remains overwhelming. The strategic posture of "Soviet offensive and U.S. defensive" formed since the mid-seventies has not changed today.

To be sure, due to various difficulties and out of strategic considerations, the Soviet Union now and then needs time to rest and reorganize or to change tactics. The WASHINGTON POST says that "the Soviet Union is like a giant snake which needs a period of calm to digest the large amount of food." Therefore, its offensive is at times intermittent. However, we must realize that the difficulties confronting Soviet hegemonism have not reached the degree which checks its expansion. Not long ago, 40 expert strategists of 14 Western nations arrived at a common conclusion: The Soviet Union has a "global strategy" of expansion, and also possesses today "the proper manpower, military strength, organization and funds" to realize it. Though all kinds of difficulties are blocking the completion of its global deployment, to feel that it will retreat in face of difficulties, "restrain" and "check" its expansionist desires, and "take the defensive" in strategy will be obviously incompatible with the facts. Overestimating its difficulties and feeling that it will change its course, and thereby relaxing the effort against Soviet hegemonism, will be detrimental to the cause of world peace.

#### How Should the Russia Policy of the Reagan Government Be Regarded?

Since President Reagan came to office, international opinion generally feels that the U.S. government will adopt a hard-line policy toward the Soviet Union. However, some experts on international issues point out that the situation of inadequate strength on the part of the United States is difficult to be basically changed within a short time, and that there are many domestic restraining factors which cast some doubt on whether the United States can persevere in its hard-line stand toward the Soviet Union.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan seriously threatens the vital interest of the United States in the Mideast and Persian Gulf and severely rocks the U.S. position as a superpower. The U.S. government and public have reacted strongly, and the demand to take "a hard line against the Soviets" has become the main current of public opinion. According to the opinion polls of the U.S. Associated Press and the National Broadcasting Company at the end of last February, about two-thirds of the voters favored increase in military spending, and close to three-fourths supported adopting a hard line toward the Soviet Union and following the "linkage principle" in Soviet-U.S. relations. In the later stage of his administration,

former President Carter already started readjusting the Russia strategy and announced the "Carter Doctrine" of defending the vital U.S. interest in the Persian Gulf by force if necessary. Reagan, long known for his hard line toward the Soviet Union, promptly "seized upon the national feelings," stressed "the pursuit of peace through strength," and vigorously sought to include all foreign policies in the total strategy to check the Soviet global expansion. The Reagan government seems to be reconsidering and revising the Russia strategy. According to the views of its main members and the strategic measures being undertaken, the basic points are to revitalize the U.S. economy, enhance its military strength, restore the equilibrium with the Soviet Union in nuclear strength and in military strength in the theaters of operation, and strive for superiority over the Soviet Union in naval strength; to repair the alliance relations and launch "closer and more effective consultations" with its allies, improving understanding and coordinating strategies and tactics; to enlarge, by every possible means, the U.S. capacity to handle Soviet provocations in the Third World and gradually increase attention on the strategic relations with China; to negotiate, backed by strength, with the Soviet Union. In talks on arms control, the United States wishes to implement the policy of verifiable balanced arms reduction. Carrying out the "linkage principle," it uses trade as the political weapon to exert pressure on the Soviet Union, and links the talks with the question of whether the Soviet Union will "restrain" its expansion. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger recently revealed to Congress that the United States has indicated to the Soviet Union that if the latter moves in the direction of solving the Afghan issue and finally withdraws from Afghanistan, U.S.-Soviet relations may further expand. Meanwhile, if the Soviet Union takes rash actions in Poland, there will be serious consequences in such relations. Secretary of State Haig calls the Russia policy "a big stick with a carrot." Judging from the political atmosphere at home and the basic attitudes of the representative figures in the Reagan government in charge of foreign affairs and national defense, especially the objective fact of the ever narrowing margin in America's compromise with and concession to the Soviet Union, we may predict that the Reagan government will have to persevere in its Russia policy discussed above after disposing of the various contradictions.

Nevertheless, the Reagan government faces many difficulties and resistance at home and abroad, which unavoidably produce a restraining influence on its hard-line policy on the Soviet Union; therefore, it will fluctuate to a certain extent in handling the relations with the Soviet Union. Besides the external conditioning factors, the Reagan government faces crucial issues in two aspects which also constantly influence its attitude toward the Soviet Union.

One is the practical result of strengthening defense. The Reagan government is determined to "rearm the United States." In the 5 fiscal years from 1982 to 1986, its defense budget will reach \$1.5 trillion (computed according to 1981 prices), approximately equivalent to its total expenditures on armed forces in the past 12 years and unprecedented in peacetime.

This heavy burden will bring serious consequences to Reagan's plan to restore the economy. The failure of the economy to show an obvious improvement will certainly affect the living standard of the people. Over an extended time, public feeling will gradually shift to the direction opposite to the present one, while whether the gigantic military budget can be carried out according to plan is hard to foresee. Recently, the Reagan government has decided to reduce defense spending by \$13 billion in the next 3 years. It is reported that Senate majority leader Baker and others advocate further reductions in order to remedy the growing budget deficit. Furthermore, the Reagan government lacks an arms expansion plan on military appropriations according to the order of importance and urgency. To reverse the unfavorable situation in strategy and in the nuclear strength of the NATO theater of operations, the United States is accelerating the construction of the "Ohio" missile submarine, the MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, new model strategic bombers, air, sea and land strategic cruise missiles, Pershing II ballistic missiles and neutron bombs. To counter Soviet provocations in the Third World, especially in the Persian Gulf region, the United States is stepping up the implementation of the "RDF" plan. To seize naval superiority, it will, in the near future, expand its current 450 ships to 600. As already pointed out by some U.S. strategists, such large-scale arms expansion involving several projects simultaneously will run into the difficult question of "just how much is enough" in defense spending, let alone the fact that many contradictions in formulating and carrying out a feasible arms expansion plan await solution, while the overextended defense line and the inadequate military strength are weaknesses which are hard to overcome. Such doubts are not groundless.

The Soviet Union, the main opponent of the United States, has already declared that it will never permit the United States to gain military superiority, and will take the necessary countermeasures. In spite of its economic difficulties and heavy military spending, the Soviet Union is a state with a high degree of power concentration, free from the handicap of pressure groups and opposition parties. It will maintain the momentum of its current military spending, even increasing its military budget to 15 percent or more of its national income. In the arms race, the one ahead runs for all its worth, and the one behind pants to catch up. Recently, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger declared that it will possibly take 6 years "before closing" the "military expenditure gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, it will also take about 5 years before the new U.S. nuclear missile system and its "RDF" begin to take shape. It signifies that, in the 4-year term of the Reagan administration, the current military ratio between the two countries will not change substantially. In their contention, both the United States and the Soviet Union rely on strength to back themselves up. In its competition with the Soviet Union, the United States lacks adequate strength, its ability falling short of its ambition. Its "reconciliation" faction with the financial groups as background, which, with civilian industry, have trade interest with the Soviet Union, will gradually gain the upper hand, and the pressure of the allies on the United States to

negotiate will grow. In the negotiations, "the Soviets will, by all possible means, force the West to make unilateral concessions." As the Reagan government does not possess an adequate bargaining power, the possibility of certain compromises and concessions and of secret understandings with the Soviet Union cannot be ruled out. This point must not be overlooked.

Another issue faced by the Reagan government is the conflicts between different parties and among different influence groups. In the recent 6 months, conflicts of this type have occurred successively, while those in the cabinet hamstring one another. To a certain extent, they hamper the pursuit of a unanimous and consistent Russia policy. In spite of the many difficulties faced by the United States, protecting its basic interests against Soviet provocations is crucial. Therefore, in the contention between the two countries, the dominant tendency of following a hard line on the Soviet Union will not be easily changed.

How Do the Conflicts between the United States and Its Allies Influence the Strategic Coordination against Soviet Hegemonism?

In terms of the relations between the United States and its allies, after President Reagan took office, international comments were varied, and some people even predicted the "disintegration" of the Western alliance and the "imminent collapse of NATO."

The Reagan government makes improving relations with the allies one of the pillars of its foreign policy, attempting to bridge the successive serious splits during the Carter administration, eliminate the lack of trust, and enhance the mutual strategic coordination against the Soviet Union. Reagan received in succession the government leaders of West Germany, Great Britain, Japan and Australia, and his appointment of Haig as the secretary of state won the favorable reaction of the Western European allies. When Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki visited the United States in May, the two countries made certain progresses in the labor division of defense tasks and in restricting Japan's export of automobiles to the United States. In U.S. relations with its Western European allies, through the NATO foreign ministers' and defense ministers' conferences held in May, the continued implementation of the dual policy of arms expansion and negotiations passed by NATO in 1979 was reaffirmed, and the reinforcement of military strength to counter the growing threat of the Warsaw Pact agreed on. On the assessment of the Polish situation and the countermeasures and on the issue of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, basically unanimous standpoints were reached. At the seven-nation summit held in Ottawa in July, strengthening defense to offset the Soviet threat was stressed. Japanese public opinion feels that the "Japan-United States alliance" has been brought into the entire Western "United States-Europe-Japan alliance structure." However, there have been new developments on the issue of the tactics toward the Soviet Union, the mutual economic and trade relations, and the policy issues of some regions in the Third World,



such as the splits and conflicts on the policies on South Africa, the Mid-east and Central America. [Sic]

At present, the crucial split between the United States and its Western European allies on the attitude toward the Soviet Union is: The United States wants its allies to adopt a hard-line policy, while Western Europe is yet unable to keep pace with the United States. In implementing the 1979 dual policy of NATO on military affairs, what the United States stresses are to increase defense spending, deploy new model U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, restore NATO's strategic balance with the Warsaw Pact, deal from a position of strength, and negotiate with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms limitations in the European theater of operations and on arms reduction. On the other hand, NATO's European members, especially West Germany, Holland and Belgium, due to geopolitics, are worried that "the tense relations between the two superpowers" will spread to Europe. West Germany, in particular, fears that it will become a victim of a limited nuclear conflict. Therefore, they vigorously urge the United States to hold talks with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms limitation in the European theater of operations, hoping thereby to make the Soviet Union reduce its SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe, obtain a low level military balance with the Warsaw Pact, and turn Europe into an "island of detente." In addition, due to economic difficulties, the Western European allies generally take a negative attitude on increasing military spending and undertaking more defense responsibilities. Recently, the pacifist trend of "peace, not war" has made a new development on the Western European mainland. Such desires of the Western Europeans are understandable, but it will again give Soviet hegemonism an opportunity to prevent the United States from deploying new model nuclear arms in Western Europe.

In the economic aspect, both Western Europe and Japan need Russian oil, natural gas, minerals and forestry resources, and they also need to find products and investment markets in the Soviet Union. During the "detente" of the past decade, Western Europe and Japan have enlarged their economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. After Soviet hegemonism invaded Afghanistan, Italy, France and West Germany, in disregard of U.S. embargo, have continued to expand trade with the Soviet Union, and the 1980 volume of trade increased 20 to 40 percent. Western Europe is a big creditor of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Up till 1980, they (excluding Romania and Yugoslavia) owed the West approximately \$68 billion, mostly to Western Europe.\* Meanwhile, the 5,500-km natural pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe will help ease the energy and economic crises of Western Europe. (West Germany, Italy, France and Holland plan to supply \$10 billion for the project. After completion, the supply of natural gas to West Germany from the Soviet Union will grow from the present 17 percent to 30 percent).\*\* Though the interest rate of Western

\* U.S. COMMERCE WEEKLY, 16 February 1981

\*\* U.S. FORTUNE, 1 June 1981

loans is high and the conditions still under bargaining, the West German government has openly rejected U.S. pressure and indicated that it will advance funds for the project. Unwilling to be left behind, Japan has, for the purpose of developing the raw material, coal and forestry resources of South Yakutia, provided the Soviet Union with more than \$900 million in trust loans. Recently, Japan and the Soviet Union formed an agreement on developing the offshore oil and natural gas of Sakhalin, and Japan will supply approximately \$3.2 billion in loans from the Export-Import Bank.\* Negotiations on \$3 billion in funds and equipment for the natural gas pipeline are underway. In another aspect, the trade and financial wars between the United States and Japan are growing ever more fierce, and the high interest rate policy of the United States which seriously affects the exchange rate and money-outflow of its Western European allies is crucial at this moment. Precisely as pointed out by the NEW YORK TIMES, "more possibly, political splits and disputes are actually reactions of the profound antagonistic feelings in the economic structure."

It appears that, due to the effect of the law of imbalance in the development of capitalism, the economic strengths of Western European and Japan will continue to rise; therefore, the demand to create a truly equal "partnership relation" with the United States politically will continue to grow, the rivalry in economics will aggravate, and the splits on the Soviet tactics of the Western European allies with the United States will ceaselessly emerge. Nevertheless, the basic fact is that the basic threat to the security of the United States, Europe and Japan comes from the Soviet Union, and their strategic interdependence is "the foundation for the survival of the Western alliance." In face of the ever aggravating provocations of Soviet hegemonism, the United States, Europe and Japan have a greater need to support one another. Without U.S. military protection, Western Europe and Japan have no capital to pursue "detente" with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, economically they mutually infiltrate and mutually rely on one another. To protect the oil source and shipping route of the Persian Gulf, they also have a common interest. Therefore, reconciling the conflicts and splits is the need of the overall situation of resisting Soviet hegemonism. The leading figures of West Germany and France warned the Soviet Union that, if it feels that it can split Europe and America, it will be "shortsighted." Hereafter, the relations between the United States and its European and Japanese allies will continue to follow the path of conflict--reconciliation and of reinforcing the joint resistance of Soviet hegemonism and advance on a winding course.

How Should the Role of the Third World in the Struggle against Hegemonism Be Assessed?

One view is that, with the poverty and backwardness and the internal problems, just how much effect will the Third World produce in the anti-hegemonist struggle is doubtful. Possibly those entertaining this doubt

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\* Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN, 1 July 1981

take into account only the temporary secondary phenomena, while overlooking the long-range dominant tendency.

The current common basic task of the Third World is to resist imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, defend world peace, preserve national independence, and develop the national economy and culture. Tremendous changes have occurred in the Third World after the war. First, the overwhelming majority of its nations have gained independence, and only a minority of the states and possessions needs to continue to strive for independence. Next, a considerable number of the countries has followed the path of developing the national economy, and some of them have made progresses to different extents. They are realizing ever more clearly that, only by casting off the fetters of the unfair and unequal international economic relations and striving for economic independence will they consolidate their political independence. Today, the main threat to their independence is the grim reality that the Soviet Union considers the Third World the main target of its contention, while the "hot spot" areas of the contention are all found in the Third World. Especially with the gradual decline of U.S. strength and the ceaseless inflation of the Soviet strength, the threat of the Soviet hegemonist expansion and infiltration to the Third World is growing ever more crucial. Brezhnev, for instance, revealed the Soviet strategic intent in the Mideast and Africa regions when he declared: "Our goal is to control the two great treasuries which the West relies on for its survival, viz., the energy treasury of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasury of Africa."\* At present, as the attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the United States in different areas and different countries are somewhat varied, such as the antagonism of many Latin American countries for U.S. hegemonism, and as the banner of "supporting the national liberation movement" hoisted by Soviet hegemonism still has a certain deceptiveness, it will require a process for most Third World nations to recognize the true colors of Soviet social imperialism. However, in terms of the general development tendency of a relatively long range, to thoroughly complete the tasks of national independence and of developing the national economy and culture, more and more Third World nations will gradually recognize the true colors of Soviet hegemonism and realize that it is the main source of today's threat of war. Only when the struggle of the Third World against Soviet hegemonism rises on a large scale will it become possible to effectively postpone war, safeguard world peace, and win a relatively long period of international peace for the broad Third World to build its own nations.

That the Third World has become the main force against hegemonism, mainly the more aggressive and threatening Soviet hegemonism, is primarily because of its wide area and large population. Its 128 nations, spread over the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, constitute 76 percent of the independent nations in the world and 59 percent of the total world area, and its total population of 3 billion constitute 72 percent of the world population. Next, the Third World possesses many strategic spots and most of the world's crucial oil and resource "thoroughfares," such as

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\* Nixon, "the Real War"

Hormuz Strait, the Cape of Good Hope navigation route, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Malacca, Panama Canal, etc. In addition, its strategic resources are extremely abundant. The total deposit of oil in the Mideast, for instance, is 49 billion ton, or 58 percent of the world total, and the export volume is 60 percent of the world total. The proportions of the mineral deposits of Africa in the world totals are: Diamond, close to 100 percent; gold, 70 percent; uranium, 30 percent; lithium, cobalt and chromium, 90 percent or more. Therefore, the Third World occupies a crucial position in the struggle against hegemonism.

The Third World has already played, and will continue to play, a major role in the struggle against hegemonism, mainly Soviet hegemonism. As the Third World nations possess a strong national sentiment, firmly defending national independence and sovereignty, opposing external intervention and aggression, and seeking intensely to safeguard world peace, they are determined to combat hegemonism. Meanwhile, they ceaselessly enrich their experience in struggle, enhance the techniques, and reinforce unity, and all kinds of political, economic and even defensive regional organizations have mushroomed. In recent years, many countries among them have improved their understanding of the Soviet hegemonist threat, and the tendency to unite and resist Soviet expansionism is developing, effectively checking the expansionist arrogance of Soviet hegemonism.

In Asia, the people of Afghanistan and Cambodia stand on the front line against the Soviet and Vietnamese armed aggressions. So long as the Afghan and Cambodian issues are not fairly and rationally solved, they will persevere in a protracted struggle. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, especially their statesmen with vision, warn that the invasions of Afghanistan and Cambodia are "the first move of the Soviet Union to drag the Southeast Asian countries into its sphere of influence." They unanimously demand the complete withdrawal of the Soviets and the Vietnamese from Afghanistan and Cambodia and support Thailand in its resistance of Vietnam for border violations. They continue to support the anti-Vietnam armed forces, including the Democratic Cambodia, and uphold the legitimate seat of the Democratic Cambodia on the United Nations. They actively seek the rational solution of the Afghan and Cambodian issues. Western newspapers report that, "in Asia and the Pacific region, an anti-Soviet 'rejection front' is forming." In another aspect, Soviet hegemonism takes Western Asia and the Mideast as the current main direction of attack and impels the anti-Soviet setup of the region to develop gradually. The two meetings of the foreign ministers of Islamic nations passed resolutions demanding the complete withdrawal of the Soviet invasion army from Afghanistan. Pakistan continues to support the resistance struggle of the Afghan guerrilla forces. Many figures in Iran have also pointed out that "the main threat comes from the Soviet Union." The six Gulf countries are in the process of jointly boosting their naval forces. The Arab League organization is urging a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, mainly to forestall Soviet hegemonism from taking the opportunity to instigate the pro-Soviet forces within those countries to "seize power by coordinating with forces from without."



In Africa, ever since the Soviet Union instigated the Cuban mercenaries to invade Angola, many countries have reinforced their vigilance. By their own experience, Egypt, Sudan and Somalia have recognized the true colors of Soviet social imperialism, the "natural ally," and firmly oppose its expansionist conduct. After the assassination of Egypt's President Sadat, his successor President Mubarak declared emphatically that there will be no change in Egypt's foreign policy. During the second Saudi incident, some six countries, including Senegal and the Central African Republic, dispatched a joint force to support Zaire and repelled the invasion of a mercenary army with a Soviet background. Among such countries as Guinea and Congo, some have dismissed the Soviet military advisers, others have foiled the Soviet scheme to grab military bases, and still others have pared the influence of the pro-Soviet strength. The "merging" of Libya, encouraged by the Soviet Union, with Chad aroused the strong opposition of the Chadians and the African nations and earned a severe censure from the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. Some African state leaders appealed for strict precautions against the conspiracy of the Soviets "to hoist the 'detente' banner to annex Africa."

In Latin America, the Soviet Union mainly utilizes Cuba as the agent to expand its influence. A Brazilian newspaper pointed out that "Moscow is attempting to shift its global conflict with Washington to the neighboring regions of the United States." The Soviet Union first utilizes in many ways the turbulent situation of Central America. A Venezuelan newspaper pointed out that "the Soviet infiltration of the Caribbeans is no longer purely political, but military." Therefore, a number of countries has reinforced their move to unite against hegemonism, especially Soviet hegemonism, and formed all kinds of regional organizations. Eight countries, including Panama, declared that "better understanding among Central America, the Caribbeans and the Andes region in the course of forming an organic whole is the need of regional geopolitics." Brazil declared that it will "serve as a friend in need during the difficult times of the Andes group." Such large countries as Argentina and Brazil are in the process of reinforcing cooperation to block the expansion of the Soviet Union and Cuba. Latin America is playing an ever more important role in resisting hegemonism and defending regional peace and stability.

Part of the Third World, China has all along consistently breathed the same air and shared the same destiny with the Third World countries. China will never become a superpower, but will firmly align itself with the Third World nations, uphold the standpoint of waging an irreconcilable struggle against hegemonism, and promote the development of the united anti-hegemonist strengths in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The strategic pattern whereby China is allying with more and more Third World nations, and also with the United States, Japan and European nations, to resist Soviet expansionism is developing and strengthening.

However, we must also open our eyes to the fact that internal problems in the Third World are numerous, which must be gradually and rationally solved. There are, for instance, the intricate and complex class, tribal

and religious conflicts in some countries, the frequent outbreak of border disputes between others, and the turbulent and unstable conditions in many countries and regions. Taking advantage of the situation, Soviet hegemonism and other imperialists utilize their internal and external contradictions, foment discord, vigorously expand and infiltrate, and reap a profit in the confusion. All these block the progress of the Third World against Soviet hegemonism. As a whole, the internal difficulties of the Third World are problems occurring in the course of progress. As long as the Third World nations stand on their own feet, rely on themselves for improvement, believe in themselves, enhance mutual understanding, solve their disputes by negotiations on an equal footing, seek a common ground while reserving the differences, unite closely, refrain from "internal strifes" and effectively prevent Soviet hegemonism and other external influences from meddling, the anti-hegemonist struggle of the Third World will forge ahead in the course of continuously overcoming the difficulties.

It must be pointed out that certain policies adopted by the United States on Asian, African and Latin American countries produce an unfavorable influence on the Third World's united resistance of Soviet hegemonism. The Reagan government stresses the "strategic unity" with the Third World to check Soviet expansion. Today, the United States starts from the overall situation of the contention with the Soviet Union to determine the crucial strategic areas and, according to the attitude of the countries in those areas toward the United States and the Soviet Union and their roles in regional security, deals with them in different ways, selects the key points for aid and cooperation, and stresses military aid. It is also supporting and promoting multilateral or bilateral joint anti-Soviet organizations. While such policies and principles produce a certain positive effect in checking Soviet expansionism, as the United States supports the regimes of most of those countries which are opposed to the people, it places itself on their opposite side, and diverts and even shifts the attention of some areas and countries from resisting Soviet hegemonism, thereby giving the Soviet Union an advantage.

First, there is the issue of how to handle the relations with China. Due to the feeling of urgency of the Soviet threat, the view advocating continuing the development of strategic relations with China has gradually gained influence in the Reagan government. During U.S. Secretary of State Haig's visit to China in June, both sides agreed to increase cooperation, develop the economic and trade relations between the two countries, and coordinate strategic actions. Yet the Reagan government still insists on implementing the "Taiwan Relations Act;" there are still those in power who plan to upgrade U.S. relations with Taiwan; the Reagan government has sold weapons to Taiwan. It is actually following the so-called "double-track policy" on China, the policy of "one China and one Taiwan," so that Taiwan will continue to serve as a strategic "unsinkable aircraft carrier" among America's Pacific islands. Certain advisers in the U.S. government have all along been scheming on ways to continue to

develop relations with China while also doing so with Taiwan, such as using "balanced sale of weapons" in exchange for our tacit consent to its weapons sale to Taiwan, or "nongovernmental relations" to conceal its actual governmental relations with Taiwan, and new variations emerge constantly. Nevertheless, regardless of the pattern used to interfere in China's internal affairs and block the return of Taiwan to the motherland, it will encounter China's firm opposition. There are also some among those in power in the United States who advocate that the development of the relations between the United States and China should not excessively "provoke" the Soviet Union. They feel that the rapprochement of the two countries may endanger the possibility of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union on arms control and other bilateral issues and lose the restraining effect on the Soviet Union on the Polish issue. Actually, it is still "playing the China card," definitely detrimental to the development of the China-United States strategic relations. The improvement and development of the relations between the two countries are the long-term need of the strategy of the two countries and the common desire of both peoples. It is linked with the long-range security, stability and peace of the world. Only by scrupulously abiding by the principles by which diplomatic relations were established, mutually respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and mutually refraining from interfering in the other's internal affairs will the relations between the two countries be further improved.

The Reagan government considers the Mideast and the Persian Gulf the crucial strategic region to check the Soviet advance to the south. It actively reinforces its military presence in the region, strengthens its strategic relations with Egypt against the Soviet Union, and gives serious attention to the strategic position of Pakistan, promising to provide Pakistan with more than \$3 billion in military and economic aids within 5 years, in order to enhance its capacity to resist the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, it vigorously launches diplomatic activities with the Mideast. Secretary of State Haig visited the Mideast in April, seeking to reach a "strategic unity" with the moderate Arab nations on the anti-Soviet issue, and a special envoy was dispatched to mediate the conflict between Israel and Syria, vigorously ejecting the Soviet influence in the area. Nevertheless, as the United States continues to side with Israel, and its standpoint on solving the Arab-Israeli issue is contrary to the desire of most Arab nations, it has furnished the Soviet Union the opportunity to intervene in Mideast affairs. In South Africa, the Reagan government stresses the reinforcement of military cooperation with its government, and protects, in strategy, the Cape Town navigation route of the South African coast. (Approximately 12,000 ships and 60 percent of the oil consumed in the West pass through this route annually). On the Namibia issue, the United States advocates obtaining the agreement of South Africa and, under the premise of protecting the interest of the whites, solving its independence and election issues through negotiations. Recently, in disregard of world opinion, the United States continued to side with South Africa and actually vetoed the Security Council draft resolution censuring South Africa for invading Angola, thereby arousing the strong dissatisfaction of the African nations. Even the U.S. NEW YORK TIMES had to admit

that most black African nations hold the United States responsible for blocking the independence of Namibia.

In Latin America, the Reagan government considers checking the infiltration of the Soviet Union and its agent Cuba its "action program" and makes El Salvador "a card in the world political gamble" between the United States and the Soviet Union. It sends large volumes of military aid and dispatches military advisers to the Salvadoran government, and even assembled a formidable naval force for a large-scale maneuver on the Caribbean Sea to show its tough attitude toward the Soviet Union and Cuba. Besides external factors, the political unrest of some Central American countries is caused by their internal problems, and the U.S. practice has encountered the criticisms of some Latin American countries and its allies.

In short, the obstacles placed by the Reagan government to improving relations with most of the Third World nations are unfavorable to promoting the strategic needs of the Third World to unite against Soviet hegemonism; on the contrary, they have given the Soviet Union an opportunity to meddle.

What Is the Basic Tendency of the Soviet-U.S. Contention and the Prospect for World Peace?

The development tendency of the Soviet-U.S. contention is an issue of concern to the whole world. As the "hot spots" increase in number, the area affected widens. There are both direct and indirect patterns of contention, and the means are many and varied. Therefore, in the foreseeable future, the Soviet-U.S. global contention will grow sharper, fiercer and more complex, and the eighties will be fraught with greater dangers of war.

As one main means of contention is reliance on strength, a new round of arms competition will undoubtedly occur. In the past decade, Soviet spending on conventional weapons was double that of the United States, and its spending on nuclear arms triple. The military expenditures of both sides hereafter will be like the boat rising ever higher with the rise of the water. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th Soviet Party Congress that "both sides should refrain from seeking military superiority over the other." Actually, both are seeking to restrict the other and strengthen itself. The Soviet Union plans, by the mid-eighties, to strengthen and renew its nuclear strike force, reinforce its land, sea and air mobility and assault capacity, narrow the gap with the United States in military technology, and surpass the United States in certain realms. The United States does its utmost to maintain strategic parity with the Soviet Union, gives attention to the ceaseless growth of its nuclear strike capacity, creates new sophisticated weapons, and pays an increasing attention on the development of its conventional strength, while reinforcing the rapid reaction capacity of its armed forces. It also demands that the allies appropriately develop their military defense capacity.



The recent seven-nation summit showed concern over the Soviet increase in military strength, and "unanimously feels that it is necessary to seek parity in strength" and that, besides the United States, all nations must also "reinforce their defense capacity according to their national conditions." The Warsaw Pact headed by the Soviet Union and the NATO headed by the United States, the two big blocs, will go all out to further the momentum of arms expansion.

The strategic focus in the Soviet-U.S. contention is still Europe. There the open strifes and veiled struggles are unusually fierce. Nevertheless, the current "hot spots" of contention in Asia, the Pacific Region, Africa and the Caribbeans have continued to increase, while the "hot spots of hot spots" are concentrated in the Mideast and the Persian Gulf. The ever aggravating oil crisis of the West has made the Soviet Union realize that control of the Mideast oil source is "a weapon more lethal than the atom bomb to crush the Western economy," while the continued turmoil of the Mideast political situation provides a great "temptation" to the Soviet Union. The strategic control of the Mideast region will ameliorate its predicament of "suffering attack front and rear" and enable it to gain a more favorable strategic posture in a global range. Even though the Soviet Union has run into a "dead-end alley" in Afghanistan and finds itself in a dilemma on the Polish incident, it is still concentrating on the Mideast. On the one hand, it continues to intensify infiltration and expansion and strengthen military deployment. On the other hand, it is launching a political offensive and has proposed "not to use force on the Persian Gulf, but to seek a package plan of solution," for the purpose of interfering in the Mideast issue and utilizing the splits among the Arab nations and the conflict between the Arabs and Israel to isolate Egypt and elbow out the United States. Nevertheless, the serious Soviet threat has enhanced the sense of urgency of the West to stabilize the Mideast and the Persian Gulf. The United States vigorously attempts to preserve and expand its influence in the region. The Reagan government has indicated that the Mideast is "an issue of the first priority" at present, and adopted a series of corresponding measures to stabilize it. However, as certain U.S. practices are like "spinning a cocoon around oneself," it plays into the Soviet hand, making it hard for the solution of the Arab-Israeli issue, the key to the Mideast issue, to make a breakthrough in the near future. Under the fierce Soviet-U.S. contention, the various contradictions in the Mideast region continue to aggravate, with various forces grouping and regrouping repeatedly, and the situation will fluctuate without certainty.

While intensifying their contention, both the Soviet Union and the United States wish to maintain the "detente" pattern as far as possible. One of the important reasons that the Soviet Union hesitates to launch armed intervention in Poland is its concern that it may affect its conspiracy to promote the so-called East-West "detente" and cause the West to impose stringent economic sanctions against it and to suspend the arms reduction talks. The United States also has to maintain a cautious attitude on the Polish issue. Therefore, within a considerable length of time, both sides

will utilize "detente" to bargain back and forth and serve their own political goals. The London International Institute of Strategic Studies has the following view: "Both the United States and the Soviet Union want to avoid a direct armed confrontation, and both sides constantly seek strength and negotiation." It appears that neither can tolerate the heavy burden of arms competition and both need to restrict the other by nuclear arms limitation and arms reduction talks. We must also realize that "detente" is the long-range strategy of the Soviet Union to undermine the West and strengthen itself and to dominate the world. The purpose is to gain time in order to catch up with the United States in economy and gain an overall military superiority, and to dismantle the Europe-United States alliance, complete its global strategic deployment and create conditions for a "victory without war." Recently, Soviet leaders advocated giving "detente" a "second breathing spell," bragging that the "detente" pursued by the Soviet Union has resulted in "indisputable strategic achievements" and vowing solemnly that it will "promote the detente policy indefinitely" in the future. At the 26th Soviet Party Congress, Brezhnev stressed the necessity to "preserve detente," hypocritically advocated "political detente" supplemented by "military detente," declared the Soviet desire to promote the holding of the European arms reduction talks, and announced the intention to "resort to all political means" to block the United States from deploying new nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Advocating the "theory of the divisibility of detente," he said that, "regardless of the growing tense situation in other areas in the world, detente can be continued in Europe," thereby attempting to drive a wedge between the United States and Europe, continue to acquire the technology and funds needed by the Soviet Union from Europe in order to solve its domestic economic difficulties, and win a breathing spell in handling the "Eastern European lifeline beset with crises." As for Reagan's "words on abandoning detente" and the adoption of certain hard-line policies on the Soviet Union, one intent is to arouse public opinion at home in support of his domestic and foreign policies, primarily to handle the severe economic problems, to further reinforce military strength, to readjust the relations with the allies, to promote the so-called "peace through strength," and to strengthen U.S. position in talks with the Soviet Union. When Brezhnev, at the 26th Soviet Party Congress, expressed willingness to "hold dialogues of various levels" with the United States, especially "dialogue of the highest level," U.S. Secretary of State Haig signified that there were certain "innovations" meriting attention, and reacted favorably to a high-level dialogue between the two countries, but he urged "careful preparations" beforehand. Currently, both sides are mutually appraising the intent of each other and both wish to force concessions from the other through the talks. Therefore, even if talks are held, it will be difficult for any substantive progress to be made within a short time, nor will the inevitable objective tendency of the ever aggravating Soviet-U.S. contention be changed even if a temporary and partial compromise or tacit understanding is achieved.

The eighties will be the period of "deadlock coexistence" under the fierce Soviet-U.S. contention. The contention will tense and ease

alternately. The "detente" between them will "disappear" at times and "appear" at times. The Soviet Union admits that "detente has met with resistance," "with low tides and high tides," and that "the golden age of detente" of the mid-seventies will not emerge again, but nor will there be a return to the "cold war" of the fifties. The fierce Soviet-U.S. contention, especially the Soviet offensive strategy, has continuously increased the factors of war, but the world force opposing and restricting war is also daily developing. Western strategists feel that the current Soviet-U.S. contention is "a conflict below the threshold of a world war," while the Soviet Union, "under the extremely unstable situation caused by a number of small-scale incidents," may again resort to force in local areas.

In short, the world continues to develop in the "multipolar" direction, and the Soviet Union and the United States, after all, cannot control the world situation. Japan's SEKAI magazine says: "The great-power mold has revealed its cracks, and power politics is daily losing its persuasiveness." Meanwhile, the intensified expansion of Soviet hegemonism will further advance the awakening of the people of all nations, favorable to the development of the united international strength against Soviet hegemonism. Western diplomats with a keen insight advocate "a global alliance composed of all the continents to counter the global strategy of Soviet expansionism." It is in line with the trend of the times. The development of the strength against hegemonism and for world peace will further disrupt the global strategic deployment of Soviet hegemonism and stave off the outbreak of a world war. While we must maintain a high vigilance against the increasing dangers of war, we must strive to gain a considerable period of international peace.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MODERNIZATION--THE CASE OF MEIJI JAPAN

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Yi Xing [1150 2502]: "Japan's Meiji Restoration"]

[Text] Meiji Restoration is an epoch-making event in the modern history of Japan. It not only saved Japan from a national crisis of becoming a colony but also propelled Japan from a feudal capitalist society, turning [Japan] into Asia's only capitalist power.

In 1603, the Tokugawa shogunate was established, and the nation's supreme power was held in the hands of feudal military leaders led by the shogun. The Emperor's power was completely eliminated. In order to preserve its autocratic control, the shogunate adapted a "closed-door policy" toward foreign countries while a strict feudal class system was implemented domestically. Samurai (bushi) including the shogun, feudal warlords, and their vasals belonged to the controlling class, while farmers, artisans, and merchants belonged to the controlled class. Upper and lower, honorable and humble were separated according to class, and the restrictions were absolute.

Beginning in the 18th century, the productive power of Japanese society was raised significantly by the rapidly growing commodity economy, and many capitalist handicraft factories appeared one after another in various productive sectors. By the middle of the 19th century, the development of commodity economy destroyed the natural economy of the feudal society and broke the class restrictions, throwing the entire society into turmoil. Peasant rebellions grew larger and larger. Uprisings by urban commoners were triggered frequently by speculating merchants who raised the price of rice. Continuous uprisings by farmers and urban commoners severely damaged the control of the shogunate which was trying to maintain the feudal productive relationship.

Starting in the beginning of the 19th century, warships of the Western powers continuously pounded the front gate of Japan, which maintained its closed-door policy. Since 1853, American warships twice entered Japanese harbors and forced the shogunate to sign unequal treaties. They opened up harbors and even secured consular jurisdiction, the right to negotiate tariffs and the right to establish settlements. Following in the steps of the Americans, Great Britain, Russia, and Holland, too, forced the shogunate to sign similar unequal treaties,

and Japan, on the verge of becoming a colony, came face to face with a national crisis of being the Japanese people rose and resisted foreign economic and military aggression: they attacked foreign embassies and merchant ships, and destroyed stores dealing in foreign goods. However, the shogunate surrendered to the colonialists, begging for foreign economic and military aid to suppress the Japanese people's movement. This aroused the people's indignation toward the shogunate even more, and Japan's class contradictions and national contradictions were intermingled. The lower samurais belonging to several clans in the Southwest including Satsuma and Choshu, taking advantage of the people's indignation toward the shogunate for losing supremacy and disgracing the nation and the people's movement to attack the shogunate, unfolded a struggle to topple the shogunate under the banner of "protecting the emperor and driving away foreigners." After a civil war, the anti-shogunate army defeated the shogunate army decisively, and the shogun was forced to surrender. The Tokugawa shogunate which controlled Japan for more than 260 years came to an end.

In August 1868, Emperor Mutsuhito ascended the throne and adopted "Meiji" as the regnal designation of the era by taking two characters from a phrase in the old Chinese text "I-jing": "A sage faces south and listens to the world; he governs while facing the light." The capital was moved to Tokyo. After the Meiji government was established, three great policies--"enrich the nation and strengthen the military," "promote production and build industry," and "cultivate civilization"--were brought forward as the guidelines for the national reform. The goals pursued by these policies included taking the Western capitalist powers as a model, learning from the West, catching up with the West, and building Japan in a short period of time into a modernized capitalist nation with powerful armaments and great economic power. The main details of the reform include the following: Through policies such as "returning to imperial system, abolishing clans, and establishing prefectures," feudal separatist powers were eliminated and a national system centered around the emperor and consisting of centralized administrative power and a landlord bourgeoisie was established; the feudal class system was reformed and the samurai's special privileges were eliminated; monopoly rights and customs barriers were abolished and free trade was encouraged; railroads, postal service, and factories were established and capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises were supported; the ban on purchasing and selling of land was lifted and the ownership of land was confirmed; the nation's cultural level was raised; the educational system was reformed with zeal, and Western technologies and systems were introduced.

The Meiji Restoration was an incomplete bourgeois revolution. Through reform, domestic contradictions were relaxed, productive power unleashed, and obstacles to rapid development of capitalism eliminated. As a result, Japan was able to achieve in less than half a century the bourgeois modernization which took the Western bourgeois nations more than 200 years to accomplish. Due to the fact that the leadership of the Meiji Restoration was in the hands of a samurai group representing the bourgeois, a large feudal residue remained after the reform. For example, the peasant land problem was never solved; the feudal production relationship still dominated the villages; preservation of the imperial system also preserved a strong sense of feudalism including the Bushido spirit. As a result of this incomplete revolution, Japan was soon to go the way of militarism and became a feudal military imperialist nation.



## PARTY AND STATE

### CLASS ESSENCE OF ECONOMIC CRIMES EXPOUNDED

#### Nature of Present Struggle

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Clearly Recognize the Class Essence of Illegal and Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm"]

[Text] Recently, newspapers of various localities have continuously published, exposed and handled cases of illegal and criminal conduct in the economic realm. These cases involve certain party members, cadres, and even cadres with considerable responsibilities. The seriousness of the situation in some cases has reached an alarming degree. Hence, a crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm for the purpose of digging up the termites undermining the construction of our socialist modernization has become an unavoidable, serious struggle.

What is the nature of this struggle? How serious is it? We should say that the perception of this problem on the part of most comrades is quite clear, and their attitude likewise positive. But it also cannot be denied that a small number of comrades are still not very clear about this, and they still harbor some muddled perception. This should be earnestly solved.

Our struggle against illegal and criminal activities such as smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling, taking large amounts of state and collective properties into private possession, etc., is a kind of class struggle in the economic realm under new historical conditions; it is a question relating to the rise and fall of our party and to whether or not the edifice of our socialist modernization can be built. Once we carefully study the criminal facts exposed by the newspapers, we can immediately see the importance of this struggle. Some people, including certain cadres with considerable responsibilities, have chosen to ignore state laws and party discipline and resort to smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling, and thereby grab money and wealth with insatiable avarice. In order to achieve this end, they spare no efforts in adopting all kinds of base means, including even the stealing and sale of state treasures, for the purpose of fattening their own pocket at the expense of the state, thus setting aside all questions of state and personal dignity.

Among the cases already exposed, the 10,000 (yuan) figure is by no means rare; nor is a case involving over 100,000 yuan unheard of. If we say that the "three-anti" and "five-anti" campaigns of the 1950's were meant to beat back the attack of the bourgeoisie, then our crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm today is a serious struggle against capitalist influences, and this struggle has already gone beyond the ideological realm.

Facts illustrate that, whatever motives may be harbored, and whatever banners waved, by the perpetrators of illegal and criminal conduct in the economic realm (have some not professed to be serving their enterprises and collectives rather than themselves individually?), its ultimate consequence inevitably proves to be destructive to the construction of our socialist modernization; and insofar as the forms and means of such conduct are concerned, like smuggling and trading in contraband goods, evasion and omission of tax payments, speculation and swindling, trading without any actual exchange of goods or services, etc., they are invariably stamped with the imprints of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. All this is incompatible with the character, style and socialist system of the proletariat. Upholding and promoting the construction of our socialist modernization or being hostile to, and sabotaging, such construction is precisely the important connotation of class struggle under new historical conditions; our struggle against illegal and criminal elements in the economic realm is a genuine kind of class struggle under socialist conditions.

After cleansing away certain "leftist" influences that have existed in the question of class struggle for many years, some comrades, upon hearing this proposition about class struggle, seem to feel puzzled or even think that it runs counter to the proposition of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This is at least a misunderstanding. The communique of the Third Plenary Session very clearly pointed out: "In our country today, there still exists a very small number of counter-revolutionary elements and criminal elements who are hostile to and banking on sabotaging the construction of our socialist modernization; we can definitely not relax our struggle against them, nor weaken our proletarian dictatorship." The criminal activities that have emerged in the economic realm during the past two or three years serve exactly to prove the correctness of the judgment of the Party Central Committee. Our struggle against these criminal activities is precisely the inevitable action on our part to continue the implementation of the decision made by the Third Plenary Session.

Amidst the muddled perception of the nature of this struggle at present, it is possible that some comrades fail to understand why, after the exploitative classes are eliminated in our country, there is still this proposition about a continuing class struggle. Actually, this is not very hard to understand if we only look at the question of the essence of this struggle. Some comrades compare this situation to that of a wall having fallen down with its bricks still left intact: the landlord class and bourgeoisie in our country are like the wall which has been pushed down by the people of the whole country, but, as the remnants of this wall, it still requires some time to sweep away their members. Have not a large number of facts proved that remnants of feudalism and bourgeois influence

still stubbornly exist in many realms?! Are not all kinds of influences and sabotaging activities of foreign exploitative classes, including those in the political, ideological, and economic categories, continuing to attack us?! Is not the struggle between erosion by the capitalist ideology and efforts to combat it still raging?! Even though the deployment of this struggle is no longer a confrontation between the armies of the two classes, the essence of this as a class struggle is still easily visible, and no one can deny it.

Marxism tells us, when we look at a problem we must adhere to the theory of two points and must be good at analyzing that problem and observing that problem from different flanks. As we expose certain cases of economic offense and point out that the danger of "peaceful evolution" is still far from having passed away, we must at the same time affirm that, since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee has already led the whole party and the people of the whole country to rescue the party and the state from the serious crises resulting from the 10 years of internal disturbance and to enable them to embark anew on the road of prosperous development; thus, the political and economic situation is now fine, and there also has been a turn for the better in our party workstyle, in the habits of the people, and in our social order and security. As we point out that class struggle still exists, a crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm is still necessary, and a struggle against bourgeois liberalization is still necessary, we should at the same time see that this struggle is one which takes place under the condition that the exploitative classes as classes are already eliminated. Therefore, in order to handle this struggle well in a steady, accurate and stern manner, it is possible not to resort to mass campaigns, and it is possible to carry the struggle through to the end by relying on the legal system. But we must also follow the mass line. We must strengthen our leadership, pay attention to the differentiation of two kinds of contradictions, and master the boundaries of application of our policy by being lenient to those who confess their crimes honestly and strict to those who resist prosecution, and making sure that leniency is granted whenever justifiable and strict prosecution is pursued likewise whenever justifiable. This way, we are bound to be able to crack down on the criminal elements, rescue those who have made mistakes, and educate the vast ranks of the cadres and masses; we are bound to be able to cleanse in time the rotten, deteriorated parts of the organic body of the party and the state, and thereby enable the undertakings of construction of our socialist modernization to develop forward even more healthily and with still greater vigor.

#### Struggle in Fujian

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Li [5135 7812]: "Opening to the Outside World and Anti-Erosion Struggle"]

[Text] This struggle of cracking down on criminal activities in the economic realm which we are carrying out at present is a serious struggle by the proletariat against bourgeois erosion. Today, certain criminal elements have



already been, or are being, exposed and punished; certain dragged-on cases have already, or are being, settled and disposed. The masses of the people are applauding with pleasure, with their spirit elevated and their confidence in the realization of the four modernizations enhanced. Our Fujian is a province where special policies and flexible measures are being implemented; how to understand and handle well the relationship between opening to the outside world and this anti-erosion struggle is a very important question.

In the process of carrying out our policy of opening to the outside world, a struggle against erosion by the bourgeois ideology is inevitable; it is a salient manifestation of class struggle under new historical conditions. In our country, the exploitative classes as classes are no longer in existence; but class struggle remains. This is because remnant forces of those exploitative classes, especially the influences of those exploitative classes, still cannot be eliminated right away; internationally, we are opening to the outside and stepping into the world and maintaining all kinds of relations with the capitalist world. Under such circumstances, it is inevitable that class struggle should manifest itself in political, ideological, and economic forms. Take our province as an example: the implementation of special policies and flexible measures, the running of special economic zones, and the importing of foreign advanced science and technology and management expertise are bound to accelerate the speed of our economic construction and benefit our enterprises of modernization; therefore we must unswervingly continue to carry out this policy of opening to the outside world, conscientiously sum up our experiences, and further do a good job in running the Amoy Special Economic Zone. But at the same time, the erosive ideology and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie would also seep in alongside and erode and corrupt our ranks. Hence, we must crack down on criminal activities in the economic realm with fanfare, and firmly carry out our anti-erosion struggle. Since we must both have intercourse with international capital and stick to socialism, we can never overlook or abandon necessary struggles; and, the more we open to the outside world, the more we must pay attention to the anti-erosion struggle.

Energetically cracking down on criminal activities in the economic realm and firmly carrying out anti-erosion struggles is an important assurance for correctly and healthily implementing our open-door policy as well as the decisive key as to whether our special policies and flexible measures are going to succeed or fail. From the already exposed data, we can see that the infiltrating activity of capitalism in the economic realm and ideological and cultural realms has been rampageous, and the resultant "spiritual pollution" is very serious. Many of our party members and cadres have been downed by "sugar-coated bullets" as they stoop down to illegal and criminal activities such as smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling. Particularly serious is the fact that a very small number of responsible cadres, under the erosion of the bourgeois ideology, actually connived internally and externally with the residues of society and lawless elements and followed them in corrupt practices. Their criminal conduct has already seriously damaged the party's prestige, polluted social customs, interfered with our foreign economic intercourse, and is endangering our economic construction.

Should this be left to develop unchecked, it would not only lead to the failure of our special policies and flexible measures and more seriously damage our socialist enterprises, but even destroy all the fruits of revolution our party and people have achieved through many years of hard struggle. With respect to this great problem relating to the rise and fall and life and death of our party and state, our comrades must have clear thinking, a clearcut attitude as well as a firm determination; we definitely cannot remain mum and indifferent.

Some people think that since we wish to open up to the outside world, we should not stress anti-erosion; an emphasis on anti-erosion is liable to affect our open-door policy. This is incorrect. We are of the opinion that opening to the outside world and anti-erosion struggle can and must be united. Opening up to the outside world is to adopt the strong points of the outside world for our own use and to reinforce our own ability to rely on ourselves. We must insist on the policy of self-reliance in the main and foreign aid as a supplement, and independently develop the enterprises of our socialist construction and definitely not allow the Western world to influence us and let them lead us by the nose. This anti-erosion struggle we are carrying out is to clear away the path of our forward march and accelerate the pace of our socialist modernization; it by no means excludes international capital and Hong Kong and Macao industrialists and businessmen from doing business with us by proper means. In a certain sense, cracking down on economic criminal activities is precisely to eliminate interference and facilitate the implementation of the open-door policy. The view which expresses fear of such erosion and tends to turn to a closed-door attitude or which regards abandonment of struggle as permissible because of the open-door policy is invariably wrong.

We must have a correct and complete understanding of our special policies and flexible measures. We must perceive clearly that this specialty is a specialty based on observing the Constitution and laws of the state, and this flexibility is a flexibility predicated upon adhering to the party's line and principles. Politically, we must adhere to the four basic principles, and can never trade on our principles; we cannot just stress economics and knowledge and ignore politics and ideology, nor just stress technique and method and ignore orientation and path. Economically, we must assure absolute dominance by the socialist economy and insist on relying mainly on a planned economy, to be complemented by market adjustment, and can never allow any attempt at liberalization, nor permit the use of devious means such as smuggling, drug trafficking, offering of bribes, and deception in an effort to impinge on the sovereignty and interests of our state. Ideologically and culturally, we must resolutely resist erosion by the corrupt ideology of capitalism, reinforce the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, and never allow intentional propagation of the corrupt bourgeois way of life or let reactionary, yellow, lowly publications, audio and visual cassettes to infiltrate and spread among our ranks and thereby erode the masses of our party members and cadres. These represent our basic point of departure. Forgetting this basic point of departure would mean that one is not a clear-headed Marxist, and as such, one is liable to suffer defeat in our foreign intercourse.

In the history of our party, whenever we had dealings with the bourgeoisie, we always encountered the question of being subject to bourgeois erosion and encroachment. Every time, our party succeeded in exerting its proletarian dauntlessness, firmly launching its anti-erosion struggle, beating back the bourgeois attack, and thereby maintaining the purity of communists. Under new historical conditions today, the rotten bourgeois ideology once again invades our organic body; inside our party there are indeed certain swerving elements who cannot withstand the temptations of the dazzling world of capitalism and completely stray away from the communist's lofty plane of wholeheartedly serving the people and embark upon the road of corruption and degeneration. This situation of becoming politically, ideologically, and culturally eroded also exists to various degrees in some units and some individuals. If in the course of implementing our open-door policy we should abandon our anti-erosion struggle, our proletarian vanguard is likely to encounter the danger of becoming corrupt and degenerate and "evolving peacefully." In order to overcome this capitalist challenge in the political, ideological and economic realms and correctly and healthily implement our open-door policy and assure the triumphant progress of our enterprises of modernization, we are determined to eliminate all obstacles, get a tenacious handle on the major cases of criminal offense in the economic realm and severely dispose of them. We are determined to strengthen our resolve and spend considerable energy, so as to carry our anti-erosion struggle through to the end.

#### Struggle in Shandong

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Carry the Struggle of Cracking Down on Illegal and Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm Through to the End"]

[Text] The struggle of cracking down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm being carried out at present is not an isolated struggle, nor a struggle of brief duration, but an overall, long term struggle relating to the rise and fall of our party and state and our socialist cause. Only by making up our minds, strengthening our leadership, and achieving victory in this struggle can we promote a turn for the better in our party workstyle, in the people's habits, and in social order and security and assure smooth progress in the construction of our socialist modernization. We must grasp clearly the great significance of this struggle and carry it through to the end.

The struggle to crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm in our province is now preliminarily launched. Party committees at various levels and the vast ranks of our party members, cadres and masses all firmly support this important deployment on the part of the Party Central Committee; their attitude is positive. Yet, we must point out that some comrades still lack a clear perception of the seriousness and harm of these illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm and the great significance in the launching of this struggle; nor have they grasped it energetically. Such a situation should be quickly changed.

The crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm is a kind of class struggle being carried out under new historical conditions in our socialist society at present, and an important aspect of the serious struggle between erosion by the capitalist ideology and anti-erosion by our socialist ideology that we are facing politically, economically, and culturally. This struggle relates to the success or failure of the construction of our socialist modernization and the rise and fall of our party and state. We must clearly see that, because during the 10 years of internal disturbance the poison sown in a part of our people by the anarchism and extreme individualism under the instigation of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques has been profound, and because when we proceeded to implement our open-door policy externally and the policy to enliven our economy internally during the past few years, our ideological and political work and certain necessary management systems and management measures failed to catch up at the same time, so that the influence of the corrupt ideology of capitalism and the bourgeois way of life inside the country has increased and a tendency of bourgeois liberalization has emerged in realms of our social life. Under new historical conditions, the danger that tends to prompt the corruption of the party and steer it in the direction of "evolving peacefully" still has not disappeared. We must see clearly that among those who carry out illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm, some are originally remnants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. But there are, in fact, also those who, unconquered by the enemy's armed forces in the olden days, nor vanquished by the despotic power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of turmoil, are somehow hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie today and become capitulationists and termites undermining our socialist cause. A fortress is easiest breached from within. In this sense, the main danger comes from no other direction but the corruption and degeneration of swerving elements inside our party. This struggle between erosion and anti-erosion is not only reflected in many ordinary cadres of our ranks but also in certain middle and highranking cadres in the party. If these of our cadres become corrupt and degenerate in a peaceful environment, that will be even more dangerous. Under new historical conditions, and in the longterm struggle against erosion by the capitalist ideology, many party members and cadres will have to pass this severe test.

The situation regarding cases of economic crimes initially uncovered in our province also strongly indicates that it simply won't do if we fail to carry out this struggle. If we fail to do this, it will be unlikely that there can be a turn for the better in our party workstyle, our people's habits, and social order and security; by failing to do this, and letting the situation get worse, we would seriously undermine the prestige of our party, undermine the socialist cause, or even destroy all the fruits of revolution that our party and people have achieved through hard struggle during the past 60 years. Cadres at various levels should all participate in, and lead well, this struggle, with a highly responsible spirit toward the people and toward socialism, and become a resolute, clear-headed, and striving Marxist in the struggle.



In order to carry this struggle through to the end, the key lies in leaders at various levels making up their minds. The first thing is their determination; the second thing is their determination; and the third thing is still their determination. Today, some comrades put "fear" as the first thing in their minds when grasping this struggle. They are afraid of offending people, afraid of incurring trouble, afraid of making mistakes, and afraid of attack and retaliation. Some fail to make a distinction between right and wrong, turning serious criminal activities into "sources unclear, uses improper," "for the collective, not put into private pocket," etc., and thereby releasing the perpetrators in question; some even appease, condone and shelter those persons and events involving law violations and crimes, under various pretexts. These problems must all be solved according to their respective situations. In this struggle, we must seek to achieve the following: in the cases of smuggling and trading in contraband goods, speculation and swindling, corruption and taking of bribes, stealing large amounts of state and collective property and turning it into one's own possession and such serious illegal and criminal activities, we must seize them tenaciously and dispose of them with utter severity and speed; in the cases of those cadres whose criminality is more pronounced and whose offenses are also very serious, and with respect, in the first place, to cadres who occupy important posts, they must all be severely punished, with no exception allowed. Personnel who shelter major cases and interfere with their investigation, whoever they are, must all share joint responsibility. All party members, cadres, and especially leading comrades at various levels must all consciously clarify various murky conceptions and resolutely and unswervingly get a good handle on this struggle. In their work, they must correctly master established principles and policies, and consistently point the spearhead of the struggle at economic crimes; they must follow the mass line, insist on placing emphasis on evidence, on investigation and study, and gather solid data on the cases, so that they will neither let criminals escape, nor wrong innocent persons; they must bring into full play the power of policy in order to succeed in enabling more criminals to follow the path of honestly turning themselves in and repenting their wrongdoing and turning a new page in their lives; they must through the crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm engender a turn for the better in our party workstyle, the people's habits, and social order and security, and do their best to win complete victory in this struggle.

#### Relevant Decision

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Let Us Unify Our Thinking and Perception Under the 'Decision'"]

[Text] At present, an important task facing our party organizations and the vast ranks of cadres at various levels is to conscientiously study and implement the "Decision on Crackdown on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm by the CCP Central Committee." We must elevate our ideological perception through study, make up our minds, resolutely and correctly launch the struggle on a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic

realm and at the same time have the vast ranks of our party members and the vast ranks of our cadres all undergo an ideological education on adhering to communist purity, adhering to the four basic principles, and opposing erosion and degeneration.

This "Decision" is a powerful ideological weapon. It provides a scientific exposition and clear regulations on the necessity and urgency of launching the struggle on a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm as well as the nature, significance, principles and policies, the key points and steps, and methods of struggle. The situation at present has to do mainly with insufficient understanding of the significance of this struggle. Some comrades fail to perceive the havoc played by serious criminal activities that have appeared in the economic realm, such as smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling, and stealing of state and collective properties. There are also comrades who harbor some muddled perception which makes them feel worried that a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm would lead them astray from their central task of economic construction and affect the development of the construction of the four modernizations, or they thereby put the launching of this struggle in opposition to the implementation of the policies opening to the outside world and enlivening the economy internally. Consequently, only a conscientious study of the "Decision" can help unify our thinking, overcome various ideological encumbrances and obstacles, and enable us to positively and actively, unswervingly carry this struggle triumphantly through to the end.

In studying the "Decision," we must link with our actual situation and link with our own ideological perception, and understand the spirit of the "Decision" as a whole. The "Decision" fully affirms on the one hand that the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has been correct, that the party's various principles and policies have continued to achieve conspicuous results in practice, that party discipline has been strengthened, and that party workstyle has experienced a turn for the better. It points out on the other hand that there are still some dark aspects in our economic and political life and that serious criminal activities in the economic realm have conspicuously increased in the past few years, and the problem in this regard is hence far more serious than it was at the time of the 1952 "three-anti" campaign. If such criminal activities are allowed to spread freely, they are bound to seriously harm the enterprises of construction of our modernization. Serious criminal activities in the economic realm are often perpetrated through the connivance between a few people in the state organs and public and entrepreneurial units and lawless elements in society. The main cause leading to this situation is the aftermath of serious sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. Among our ranks there are some feeble-minded persons who, under the new situation of the implementation of our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy internally, cannot withstand the test and thereby become corrupt and degenerate, while our ideological and political work and management measures fail to catch up in time, and our crackdown on certain serious criminals playing havoc on the economy is not

forceful enough. This struggle is an important manifestation of class struggle in the economic realm under new historical conditions; it is a great matter of an overall nature relating to the defense of our communist purity, the defense of our socialist system and the interests of the masses of the people. For this reason, leading organs and the vast ranks of our cadres at various levels must have a clear-cut stand and resolute attitude in this struggle, and their crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm must be energetic. In the meantime, they must know clearly the key points of this crackdown, get a handle on major cases and current cases as well as cases relating to state organs and public and entrepreneurial units, concentrate their energy on disposing of big cases and crucial cases, strictly differentiate and correctly handling the two categories of different contradictions, and correctly master established policies. In the case of serious criminals playing havoc on the economy, whatever units and whoever may be involved, they must remain strictly impartial and incorruptible and administer the law judiciously without allowing anyone to give unprincipled protection to, or shield, anyone, nor permitting limits of the struggle to be expanded at random or its goal to be diverted elsewhere. They must insist on basing themselves on facts and following the norms of the law, and crackdown on serious criminals playing havoc on the economy steadily, relevantly and forcefully. They must clearly understand that opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy internally are the correct policies adopted by our party under the new situation for longterm application; they parallel, and are not in contravention to, our determined crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm. We cannot overlook any part of lawless elements taking advantage of this opportunity to commit criminal acts detrimental to our socialist economy just because we are carrying out these policies; nor can we start doubting, and wavering toward, the policies already proved to be correct in practice just because we are launching this struggle on a crackdown on economic criminals. In a word, we must through the study of the "Decision" enable the vast ranks of our cadres, especially leading cadres, to have a clear understanding of and a high-degree of vigilance toward, the carrying out of this struggle to adhere to communist purity and oppose corruption and degeneration under new historical conditions, as well as the longterm and protracted nature of this struggle.

Studying the "Decision" is itself a vivid, profound ideological and political education. We must strengthen an ideological education on communism, strengthen an education on adhering to the four basic principles, and strengthen an education on our socialist legal system among the vast ranks of our party members and cadres. We must view this struggle on a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm and opposing corruption and degeneration as one of the most practical, most effective measures for rectifying the party and its workstyle under present conditions. We must through study continue to improve our ideological and political consciousness, preserve the communist purity of communists, strengthen our discriminate differentiation of, and resistance against, the rotten ideology of capitalism, the remnant influences of feudalism, and other rotten ideas, strengthen our ability to resist the bourgeois way of life, and consciously and resolutely struggle against unhealthy practices and criminal conduct. We must make use of various typical cases in propagating among the vast ranks of our cadres

and masses the party's principles and policies in triumphantly carrying out this struggle; we must propagate with fanfare the seriousness and harm of criminal activities in the economic realm and the necessity and urgency of our efforts to oppose corruption and degeneration; we must propagate the importance of adhering to the socialist path and insisting that the interests and honor of the motherland are more important than everything else; we must propagate the honor of serving the public honestly, the honor of abiding by law and discipline, the shame of corruption and taking of bribes, the shame of smuggling and stealing, the honor of opposing bad people and bad things, the shame of shielding bad people and bad things, and thereby uphold the forthright and get rid of the devious, creating a powerful public opinion. We believe that so long as we study and implement the "Decision," unify our thinking, unify our steps, we are bound to be able to win total victory in this struggle and to renovate the outlook of our party and government, invigorate the spirit of the people, considerably change our social customs, and propel the enterprises of construction of our socialist modernization to march forward in great strides.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ADDITIONAL DISCUSSION ON ECONOMIC CRIMINALS REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 82 p 8

[Article by Jiao Yongfu [3542 0516 1133]: "Rats, Cats, and Tigers"]

[Text] Having read Comrade Zhao Qilong's [6392 0796 7893] article entitled "Thoughts on Catching Rats" which was carried by RENMIN RIBAO on 16 Apr 1982, I feel that some ideas have not been fully discussed and wish to make additional remarks.

It is appropriate to treat criminal activities in the economic realm as "the rat's trade" and people who engage in this kind of business as rats. First, it expressed people's contempt and disdain for them and second, it depicts such people and trade as characteristic of those who cannot face the world and trade which must always be carried out covertly behind someone's back.

However, what I want to say is that judging from the new conditions of criminal activities in the economic realm, naturally there are those "rats" which bite their way through the door but of even greater harm are those rats which disguise themselves as cats, or more precisely, "tigers" which have changed from "cats." By virtue of their position and the duties they should have, staff workers of state organs, particularly those who are in charge, should basically be "cats." They should punish and crack down on the "rats" in the economic realm. But unfortunately some of these people take advantage of their authority and engage in an "alliance between cats and rats" and take part in the activities of the rats, steal what is entrusted to one's care and become behind-the-scenes supporters of the rats, thus changing themselves from "cats" to "tigers." One may ask why do we not say that they have changed from "cats" to "rats" but insist on saying that they have changed into "tigers"? The answer is that in zoological terms, cats and tigers both belong to the cat family and have common ancestry. The change is easy; cats catch rats and tigers hurt people. This is one point. Another point is that in the opinion of people in general, tigers are "regal" and dignified in appearance, awe-inspiring and imposing in manner so that their appearance and temperament are like of tigers. It is said that the cat was the tiger's teacher, and because at the time when it taught the tiger its skills the cat preserved its ability to climb trees to protect itself so that it had an edge over the tiger. Today, as it further changes itself into a tiger, with a cat's position, a tiger's awe and a rat's evil-mindedness and skill to steal, it is three-in-one and truly extraordinary and is therefore particularly hard to deal with.

In terms of strategy and essence, I believe there is no harm for us in regarding those criminals as "rats" and showing contempt for them, because even if they are more fierce and malicious, they are essentially no more than "rats" when we adhere to the Four Basic Principles, rely on the broad masses of the people and particularly when true Communist Party members serve as "cats." But in terms of tactics, because of their privileged position and the role they play, we must regard them as tigers and must pay attention to them. Moreover, when we fight them, we must have some courageous and death-defying spirit in order to subdue them. Otherwise it would be very easy for the tiger to hurt us. This problem was well illustrated by Comrade Zhuang Xiying's [8369 1917 5391] tortuous experience in exposing Ma Zhenxing's [7456 2182 2502] crime in making use of mail to smuggle and resell smuggled goods. When Comrade Zhuang Ziying was pronounced to have "filed false charges" and was required to "undergo inspection during work," she said to her husband Comrade Cai Mingda [5591 2494 1129]: "There are two paths before us, either submit or continue to struggle. I am resolved to follow the latter path and even if I am arrested and jailed I will struggle against them to the end." At that moment, as a party member who joined the party in the 1950's, Comrade Cai Mingda held his wife's hand and said: "If you are really put in jail, I will appeal to the higher authorities and lodge a complaint even if I have to sell all my property. The party Central Committee will not allow them to act wildly in defiance of the law." Here, the spirit of "not to be subdued by force" as manifested by this husband and wife members of the Communist Party at the critical moment of "imminent collapse" fully illustrates the truth that the cat is bound to triumph over the rat. But besides, it also shows how formidable the might of the "tiger" can be! If Comrade Zhuang Xiying had retreated one step or if Comrade Cai Mingda had become slightly shaken at this time, the despotic power of Ma Zhenxing, Yu Baihui [0060 4102 1902], Dong Weijian [5516 4850 0313] and the like would immediately have had its way; they would suddenly have triumphed and not only would Zhuang Xiying's previous efforts have been wasted, ending with her in chains, but it would also have brought disaster to all those who had supported her. What is frightening is that the suppression of and attack on Zhuang Xiying were not directly carried out by Ma Zhenxing but were the successive efforts of the chief and deputy chief of the prefectural office of post and communications--Yu Baihui, Dong Weijian and the like--who were requested to act as "cats" and were his immediate supervisors! This most graphically demonstrates the process of change from "cats" to "tigers" and also shows the craftiness, cunning and terror of Ma Zhenxing and the like. Of course, whether Yu Baihui and Dong Weijian were "tigers" watching in safety while others fought or whether they were merely "helping a villain to do evil" must await further factual proof.

The story of Wu Song fighting the tiger has greatly increased man's will in the face of a tiger and has destroyed the tiger's power and prestige. In terms of changing from "cats" to "tigers," the two "tiger heads" of Liu Qingshan [0491 7230 1472] and Zhang Zishan [1728 1311 0810] which were hanged over the "door of the rats" were like "spells" used for "ridding a dwelling of evil spirits" in the past. For over 10 years this caused rats and tigers not to act rashly. I believe that the talk about "fighting the tiger" in the movement against the three evils was not only basic and precise but it also sounded enchanting.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MING OFFICIAL A MODEL OF HONESTY FOR CADRES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by You Gan [1429 2413]: "A Small Talk About Honesty"]

[Text] Xu Guangqi of Ming Dynasty rose to the post of prime minister. He has been considered by many people to be a great scientist. But many people are still unaware how incorruptible he was!

"Ming Shi" [History of the Ming] describes his honesty as follows: "On the day he was interred, there was no money left in his pocket." In fact, when he died, there were only 10 liang of silver in his pocket, and there was a big hole in the quilt that covered him! He was very strict toward himself, and never accepted goods from other people. In July 1617, he was ordered to go to Ningxia to deliver the appointment of Shu Zuocui, the heir to King Qing, as King of Qing. According to the custom, the person who was appointed king was supposed to give a valuable present to the bearer of the appointment. However, before the present could be brought to him, he had left for a journey back to the capital. The King of Qing dispatched his people, bearing the present (200 liang of silver and many other valuable things), to catch up with him. They were able to catch up with him at Tongguan. However, Xu Guangqi would not accept the present under any circumstances, and in his reply to the King of Qing, he wrote two popular phrases:

"I will not accept the gift, but I have already accepted your compliment." A high official such as Xu Guangqi, who could be so incorruptible in a feudal society, was very rare indeed. A famous writer Yuan Haowen of the Jin Dynasty wrote the following: "Able officials can be found easily; what is most difficult to find is one who is just and incorruptible." These phrases describe this point vividly. Therefore, it is not surprising at all to witness a situation described by "in office for only 3 years, a hundred thousand snow flake silver pieces already."

In [title untranslated] edited by Liu Xiangsuo of Xihan [Western Han], there is the following phrase on honesty: "Since I was young, I have believed in purity," to which Wang Yi of Eastern Han wrote the following remark: "Not to accept is to be incorruptible; not to be contaminated is to be pure." To be incorruptible, an official must not be influenced by evil ideas and must be able to remain pure and maintain self-control, or be able to withstand hardship and

live frugally. However, in a feudal society, this can only be extremely individualistic. As to greedy officials running rampant and corrupt officials going everywhere, this is a situation determined by the exploiting system, and it cannot be stopped no matter what extremely severe measures may be taken by the emperor. What Zhu Yuanzhong did to punish corrupt officials in order to protect the territories of Ming Dynasty could not be described as not severe enough. According to what was written in the history book, Zhu Yuanzhong tried to use severe punishment to discourage officials from becoming greedy and corrupt. He ordered the Ministry of Justice to compile criminal codes for the governmental officials, which came in three big chapters. Included in it were the descriptions of more than one thousand crimes and punishments including dismemberment, beheading and display, and extermination of a family, and more than ten thousand crimes starting with beheading. He who took bribes exceeding 60 liang of silver was to be beheaded and displayed. He was also to be skinned, with the skin being stuffed with straw. Adjacent to every government office building was built a temple called skin temple (where skinning was carried out). In every office was hung the stuffed skin of a dead official, so that the live official would be reminded of the punishment whenever he saw it. What was the effect of all this? Even Zhu Yuanzhong said in agitation and stomping his feet: "I wanted to eliminate greedy officials who took bribes. What can I do if they witness an execution in the morning then commit a crime in the evening!" This proves that though he was able to kill, he was unable to change the feudal system, much less eliminate the greedy and corrupt officials. As to incorruptible officials such as Xu Guangqi, they are rarer than hair of the phoenix and horn of the unicorn in a feudal society. And those who remained incorruptible did so only to preserve their personal honor and privileges of the ruling class. Their motives were basically different from the ideological foundation of the advanced members of proletariat who remain incorruptible.

Honesty of the advanced members of proletariat is self-aware; it is built on an ideological foundation of liberating the entire mankind. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "The Proletariat is completely opposite to all exploiting classes; the Proletariat never exploits other people, but is exploited by others." In order to develop itself and to achieve its own liberation, the Proletariat not only does not need to bring harm to the welfare and development of other working people, but must also unite with the vast majority of the other working people and struggle together. In pursuit of its own liberation, the Proletariat must also liberate all working people and the entire mankind. It is impossible to liberate only a single worker or a portion of the workers." In a poem entitled "Showing to the Children," Comrade Chen Yi summarized this thought: "You must value the idea, and make plan for the world. I must work for the masses, so I should be ashamed to busy for myself. If everybody can act like this, then the world will be free." Communist Party members who uphold the idea of liberating all mankind, who will not withhold anything from matters related to the revolution, including their own lives, must of course fight more determinedly against those matters which can bring damage to the party and the people's welfare. Only because the Communist Party members have such self-awareness, was the greater majority of the comrades able to remain incorruptible during the struggle and after the revolution was won, and was it able to remain dedicated to party affairs. The minister of general management of the Red Fourth Front Army, Comrade Zheng Yibin, was surrounded by the enemy in 1937. Disregarding the danger to his life, he collected all the gold and silver kept in the minis-



try and ordered a soldier, Shao Zhang, to carry the money and break through the enemy line while he himself stayed behind to provide cover. In the end, Shao Zhang was able to break through and the money was delivered safely to the hand of a leader at the headquarters, while he himself died heroically. The honesty and the self-control demonstrated by our President Zhou and his modest appearance which demonstrated the noble character of a Communist Party member, left a deep and vivid impression on the entire nation.

However, we cannot say that all Communist Party members are incorruptible and full of self-control. There are a very small number of Communist Party members and the leading cadres who could not withstand the raids by "sugar-coated bombs" and gave up the great communist ideology, became corrupt and contaminated, and took to the road of crimes including smuggling, trading for private gain, corruption and taking payola, speculating and swindling, stealing from the nation and collective property. That is to say that these people's deeds are no longer under the control of the Proletariat ideal which is honest and without the slightest self-interest, but are under the control of corrupt bourgeoisie ideal which consists of obtaining advantage at the expense of others. These people, though they may be small in number, can do great harm. That is why the party and the nation are determined to carry out the battle against criminal activities in the economic field to the end in order to preserve and protect the profit of the party and the people by digging out the worms which are obstructing the progress of four modernizations. At the same time, to the vast majority of Communist Party members and to the masses, this provides an excellent educational opportunity. We can learn to make the distinction between the Proletariat ideal and the bourgeois ideal, and thus strengthen our ability to fight corruption and contamination so as to propel forward the socialist construction of spiritual civilization. To be sure, we will not be able completely to eliminate the phenomena of corruption and theft in a very short period of time. This is going to be a protracted struggle. We must exert our efforts untiringly, because the influence of obsolete ideas, erosion by the feudal class and bourgeois ideas will be with us for a long time to come!

9113

CSO: 4005/842



## PARTY AND STATE

### SHORT COMMENTARY ON CADRE REFORM

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 April 82 p 1

[Article: "'Timely Rain' Must Fall"]

[Text] When a small number of production team leading groups are paralyzed or semi-paralyzed, what should be done? Leaving it alone and doing nothing obviously is not the answer. Reprimanding them violently will not solve the problem. Replacing them unthinkingly will not necessarily solve the problem either. The method adopted by the Guanyun County is better after all: study and investigate the problem on the spot, understand the circumstances thoroughly, treat each problem separately, and solve the problems one after another.

Facts show that a large number of cadres of these production teams were not unwilling, but rather did not understand the policy well and could not get guidance from anybody, could not get help when the method they used was wrong, or could not get support when they were attacked. When bad things happened in their own teams, they themselves became impatient, and they wished their superiors could give them support. Their wish was as urgent as a wish for rain in a severe drought. In the midst of such circumstances, the Guanyun County party committee organized more than 800 cadres and dispatched them to the troubled production teams to help them solve their problems. This move was comparable to the timely rain which nourishes the dry seedlings. It restored life to more than 400 production teams.

After the responsibility system was implemented, the burden on the shoulders of the production team leaders did not become lighter but rather heavier. The remuneration they receive is only commensurate to the amount of work they do. The leaders at superior levels must show consideration for their suffering, listen intently to calls for help, and give them concrete assistance as often as needed. If we could put ourselves in the team cadres' place and think for them, we would do just as the Guanyun County party committee members did, namely, step out of our offices and go to the foot-dragging teams, together in joy and pain with the team cadres, sharing misfortunes and help dissipating sorrows, showing them consideration and teaching them the method. In this way the state of paralysis or semi-paralysis that appeared in certain production teams can be resolved in a short period of time without much difficulty.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### COUNTY GUIDANCE TO STRENGTHEN TEAM LEADERSHIP

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by Tang Chengfen [3282 2052 1164] and Wang Baishen [3769 2672 2773]: "More Than 400 Production Teams Corrected the State of Weak Leadership and Paralysis; Guanyun County Organized County and Commune Cadres and Sent Them To Help Those Backward Teams"]

[Text] The Guanyun County party committee members organized more than 800 cadres from county and commune levels and dispatched them to those production teams where the responsibility system has not yet been successfully implemented, to give them assistance. Through more than 2 months' efforts, the weak and disorganized state of the leading group of more than 400 production teams has been turned around, and the production responsibility system can now be implemented stably.

Through investigation, the responsible comrades of the Guanyun County party committee discovered that the disorganized state of the leading group of some production teams was not because the team cadres wanted it to be so. For example, Advanced No 4 Team of Jieyu Commune used to be able to increase production 3 years in a row. Last winter a small number of people who went out to undertake sideline production did not want to hand over their income to the team treasury according to the regulation. With a pretense of undertaking extensive assignments, they incited a few people to demand distribution of all the collective land property. The team leader wanted to resist but was not certain about the policy. He reported the matter to his superior but was not able to get any help. He could not but become paralyzed. This kind of situation was quite typical in those foot-dragging teams. In order to alter this situation, the party committee members at the two levels, county and commune, carried out detailed analysis of the more than 400 foot-dragging teams all over the country. Except for a limited number of cadres in a small number of teams whose economic problems were so severe that the masses had lost confidence in their leading cadres or those cadres who, even after an education, still refused to carry out their duty and needed to be replaced, what the great majority of the team cadres needed consisted mainly of enlightening education, support and assistance. The county-commune cadre working group under the leadership of four regular county party committee members accomplished the following:

Team cadres were organized to restudy government policy in order to strengthen the core structure. The team cadres did not study the central documents exten-

sively but did listen to short talks regularly. They often misunderstood rain for wind, and they did not have their own opinion when incidents occurred. Or, due to insufficient understanding of the policy, first they were afraid of making mistakes, then when the masses rebelled they tried to suppress them, and when that failed, chaos resulted, and chaos led to paralysis. After the work group came to the team, the team cadres were organized so that they could study the relevant central documents and use government policy to back up their acts. At the same time, they deepened the understanding of the policy in connection with the actual local circumstances. A number of production team cadres belonging to the Tongwangji Commune dared to undertake but did not dare to control. The work group took them to the Liuli battalion to carry out on-site education. No 6 Production Team of this battalion has 40 mu of three types of wheat and the sprouts are growing uniformly and strongly as a result of holding fast to the unified standard quality control with five ditches and the accessories, while in another 70 mu of three types of wheat in an adjacent lot, the sprouts grow unevenly as a result of each family digging its own ditch in its own way so that irrigation is inconsistent from one family to another, thus creating many contradictions on matters related to management. The team cadres heard on site the voice of masses demanding "control" and thus learned the relationship between undertaking and controlling.

Team cadres were taught to throw away their ideological hang-ups and to calm down: Some production teams were weak in their leading group; weak on the "private" matter. In the past, there were many incidents of embezzlement, appropriation, borrowing, unpublished financial account, and undemocracy in economic affairs. After the responsibility system was implemented, some automatically stepped aside because the masses did not have confidence; some tried to lay down their burden because no advantage could be taken. After the work group came to the team, a detailed ideological education was carried out in order to help them throw away their ideological burdens and straighten their back. The team leader of Qunan production team, Dengzhuang battalion, Xiangyang commune, took collective reserve grains and exchanged them with pressed bean cakes to feed his own hogs. He also borrowed public fund for personal use and the masses were up against him. The comrades of the work group undertook his education and, as a result, he did selfexamination in front of the masses and paid back the cost of pressed beancakes, and also made arrangement to pay back the public fund in installments. The commune members understood him and reelected him to be their team leader. Since the spring this year, he led the masses to prepare various types of work orderly and expertly.

The team cadres were given support to uphold justice and eliminate evil; they were given a new pair of stronger shoulders. Some leading groups of foot-dragging teams were full of contradictions which constituted one of the reasons for the disorganized state of affairs. For these, the comrades of the work group carried out specific analysis, each case treated separately. For those cases in which the problem concerned the ideology and the manner with which the cadres conducted themselves, the cadres were patiently educated and guided to reform. For those cases in which the problem was caused by an improper production method, the cadres were given concrete instruction and more responsibility was shouldered by the leader. Those cadres who were opposed by a minority because they held fast to the party policy in order to preserve and protect the collective profit were openly and clearly given full support in order to

fight back against erroneous tendencies. The team leader Zhang Tingxian of No 10 Production Team, Zhigou Battalion, Yufeng Commune, upheld principle and led his team to make strenuous efforts. Many were dissatisfied. So when the responsibility system was to be implemented, they incited the clan, attacked him from all sides, and insulted him. As a result, the responsibility system could not yet be implemented. A responsible comrade of the commune party committee visited this team in person to praise and encourage the team leader and also seriously criticized their mistakes. Since then, implementation of the responsibility system has proceeded smoothly.

9113

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BOOK INTRODUCES PRINCIPLES, APPLICATIONS OF SONAR

Beijing SHUIXIA QIANLIYAN [UNDERWATER TELESCOPE--SONAR] in Chinese March 1981,  
National Defense Industries Press

[Book compiled by Yu Yongyan [0060 3057 3293] and Pan Laixing [3382 0171 2502]

[Excerpts] Synopsis

This book is a volume of popular science reading materials that provides an introduction to the technology of marine acoustics. The book provides an introduction to the history of the development and basic knowledge of marine acoustics technology and the principles of various kinds of sonar, as well as its widespread application in national defense, oceanic exploitation, and the fishing industry. At the same time, the book briefly introduces the technology of silent probes as well as the new types of sonar and their future.

The book's contents are rich, its writing is lively, and its illustrations are clear-cut; it is easy to understand and is suitable for reading by the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and by students.

### UNDERWATER TELESCOPE--SONAR

Compiled by Yu Yongyuan and Fan Laixing

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## Editor's Note:

In recent years we have come to keenly realize from actual experience the great role played by the work of popular science in science and technology, especially in the most advanced branches of science and technology. However, since liberation there has not yet been a popular science book that especially provides an introduction to the technology of marine acoustics, and this has been detrimental to the popularization of marine acoustics, which is a new branch of advanced technology. Therefore, we have plucked up our courage and made a little attempt in this respect by compiling this popular science book "Underwater Telescope--Sonar" in order to add strength to the development of the work of popular science. In the course of the compilation, we received warm encouragement and support from Prof Wang Dezhaoh [3076 1795 2507], a veteran in marine acoustics circles and a famous scientist. Comrade Xu Zhenyong [6079 2823 6978] conscientiously revised the original manuscript, and Comrade Wei Zhongyin [7614 0022 0603] designed the book's front cover and the illustrations. All this enabled us to complete our work smoothly.

Because our scientific level is limited and our experience inadequate, the book certainly still contains many shortcomings and inadequacies. We sincerely invite the masses of readers and the experts to provide criticisms and point out the mistakes so that they can be corrected.

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## Introduction

Have you heard the story of the "thousand-li eyes" and the "ears that could hear faraway sounds"? According to legend, in ancient times there were three brothers. The eldest brother had eyes that could see as far as 1,000 li; the second eldest brother had ears that could hear far away in all directions; and the youngest brother was fleet of foot and could run as if he were flying, covering 1,000 li in a day. Once upon a time, enemies attacked their state. The eldest brother, from 1,000 li away, saw the military forces of the enemy rushing straight toward them and immediately told the second eldest brother. The second eldest brother used his ears and heard the enemy general discussing how his troops would make a surprise attack on the capital of the state, and he told the youngest brother what he had heard. Seeing that this was an emergency, the youngest brother immediately got his legs moving, and in the course of one night he ran to the capital and reported this piece of

important military intelligence to the king. The king immediately dispatched a large formation of troops to lay an ambush along the route the enemy was taking. In the end, a great victory was won and the enemy's entire army was destroyed. The three brothers had performed a deed of great merit. Of course, this is not a true story, but this myth reflects the wonderful fantasies of the people of ancient times.

Today, owing to modern electronic technology, this fantasy has become reality. Electromagnetic waves can be propagated at a rate of 300,000 kilometers per second, and modern radar can discover an enemy target 1,000 li away and also direct guided missiles to destroy the target. Communications satellites can transmit information to every corner of the globe in the twinkling of an eye and send into countless homes fine, moving musical, television, and radio programs. Radio signals can telecontrol spaceships, travel through space, and bring back to earth the mysteries of the universe gleaned through probes. Remote-sensing equipment on reconnaissance satellites in outer space can take clear pictures of pedestrians walking along the streets and can locate all sorts of military facilities such as underground guided-missile silos and strategic deployments. Their reconnaissance ability far surpasses that found in the mythical legends.

However, electromagnetic waves are not omnipotent. In the vast ocean, electromagnetic waves are greatly inferior. We know that an ocean is a huge conductor of electricity and that electromagnetic waves are very quickly absorbed in water, so that their range of propagation is very short. Therefore, in the mysterious oceanic world, electromagnetic waves cannot be depended on for probing, communicating, tracking, and navigating. Similarly, the attenuation of various kinds of light waves such as visible light, infrared rays, and ultraviolet rays is extremely large (in essence, they are a kind of electromagnetic wave). Fortunately, scientists have provided us with a very useful medium, viz, sound waves (see Fig. 1).

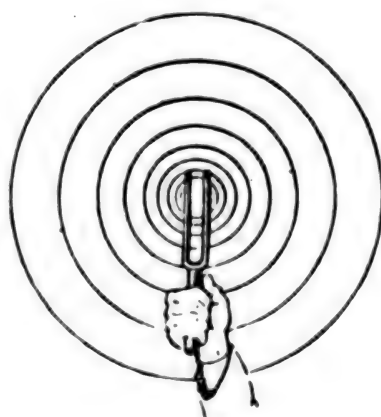


图1 声波

Fig. 1 Sound Waves

Speaking of sound waves, people are not unfamiliar with them. Every day and every hour, we, without exception, live in a world of sound. There are the beautiful sounds of music and songs, and there are also noises that disgust people. All of them are produced by the vibration of material entities. However, not all sound waves can be heard. The normal human ear is only aware of sound waves that vibrate about 20 to 20,000 times per second, which can be called audible sounds. Sounds above this range are called ultrasonic; sounds below this range are called infrasonic. Neither ultrasonic nor infrasonic sounds are heard by the normal human ear. The frequency (number of vibrations per second) range of sound waves is very wide, from  $10^{-4}$  to  $10^{12}$  times per second. And its uses are even wider. Sound waves can be used for communication, and can form moving spoken language and music to express our thoughts and feelings. But this is not their only use. Originally, both sound waves and electromagnetic waves were extremely important means of locating and measuring. Particularly in liquid and solid bodies, they displayed even more originality. For example, by using ultrasonic sound waves, one can quickly detect flaws inside a material body and pathological changes inside a physical body. In steel and iron, the speed of sound waves can reach 5 kilometers per second, and therefore they are an important means of conducting harmless measurements. Ultrahigh-frequency sound waves can penetrate deep into the microscopic structure of matter and are an effective means of studying the internal structure of matter. By using infrasonic sounds, one can locate and measure nuclear explosions and earthquakes. Ultraflow-frequency sound waves can penetrate deep under the earth's strata and ascertain underground structure and ore-producing natural resources.

One of the important fields of application for sound waves is the ocean, where they have almost completely replaced electromagnetic waves and have come to play a decisive role. Sonar, which was developed on the basis of acoustical technology, is an effective means of locating and measuring, communicating, navigating, and fixing positions (Fig. 2).

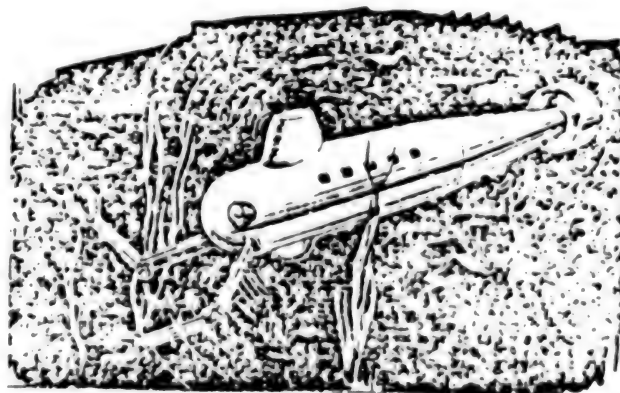


图2 水声导航

Fig. 2 Underwater soundwave navigation



When we speak of sonar, many people will feel that they are on unfamiliar ground, but if we mention radar many of them will be on familiar ground. Speaking oversimply, sonar is underground radar. The difference is that sound waves are substituted for electromagnetic waves. If we compare radar to a telescope, then sonar is an "underwater telescope." Compared with electromagnetic waves, in water the attenuation of sound waves is very small and they can be disseminated a long distance; especially in the deep sea they can traverse the ocean, and their propagation range can reach over 10,000 kilometers. Sonar truly deserves the name "underwater telescope"!

Ever since submarines came into being, sonar has been an important instrument for antisubmarine probes; in particular, the appearance of nuclear submarines has made the role of sonar even more prominent. Therefore, it is related to an important scientific field of national defense and security, and from this has been produced an important and advanced technical discipline--marine acoustics. In recent years, following the development of undertakings to exploit the ocean, sonar has entered an important field related to the national economy and the people's livelihood--oceanic research and exploitation. As we march toward the four modernizations, marine acoustics technology is an important "frontline army." It is too bad that in our country today, except for comrades who are directly engaged in this kind of work, there are still not many persons who understand this branch of learning.

Here, we want to introduce to our readers, and in particular to our young friends who aspire to the four modernizations, this new and interesting branch of learning. We hope more young friends will contribute their fervent youth to the cause of the motherland's marine acoustics, using their bold and unrestrained zeal and sweat of hard work to irrigate the flowers of science in the motherland so that they will blossom and bear the rich fruit of technology.

9727

CSO: 4005/804

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GANSU PROVINCE STIPULATIONS ON FAMILY PLANNING REPORTED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 2

[Article: "Stipulations on Concrete Policy of Planned Parenthood by Gansu Provincial People's Government"]

[Text] Article I. These stipulations are formulated on the basis of the Constitution and Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China, the directives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and State Council on doing planned parenthood work better, strictly control population quantity, improve population quality, continue to advocate late marriage, late childbearing, fewer births and eugenics, and take into account the actual conditions in our province.

Article II. Couples who are state cadres and employees and live in cities and towns (including cases where one partner is in the countryside) may have only one child.

The birth of a second child may be permitted under one of the following conditions on application by both partners, with agreement of their unit, on verification by their neighborhood office (or commune), and with the approval of the county (municipal, district) planned parenthood committee:

1. When diagnosis by a hospital above county level indicates that the first child has a nonhereditary disease and cannot be expected to grow into a normal ablebodied person;
2. When one partner of a remarried couple has had one child while the other partner has not;
3. When there are no births in many years of marriage and the wife becomes pregnant after adopting a child.

Article III. It is generally advocated that in rural areas a couple give birth to only one child. In addition to the special conditions stipulated in Article II, if an individual commune member is having true difficulties, a second birth may be permitted, but specific conditions of the county people's government must be met, and then only after approval by the administrative office or the zhou or municipal people's government. If the conditions are met, both partners of the couple must apply and after verification by the people's commune report to the county planned parenthood committee for approval.

Article IV. All approved second births must be separated by an interval of more than 4 years.

Article V. Under no conditions, whether in the city or rural areas, can there be the birth of a third child.

Article VI. Minority nationalities should also practice planned parenthood. The number of childbirths permitted to minority nationalities with small populations who live in pasturelands and forestlands may be increased as appropriate. The specific method [of determining the increase in births permitted] is to be formulated by nationality autonomous zhou and counties and implemented after approval by the provincial people's government.

Article VII. The agencies and units of temporary residence and the neighborhood office (commune) shall take measures to terminate within a limited time all unplanned pregnancies of people not in their home residential area. Otherwise, in addition to punishment of the couple themselves according to these "stipulations," responsibility will be fixed on the leadership cadres concerned in the temporary unit.

Article VIII. To improve the population quality, hospitals above county level should gradually launch eugenic outpatient activity. Those who have hereditary nervous disorders, hereditary mental incapacity, severe heredity deformity and dementia may not bear children. Those already pregnant should be dealt with promptly to avoid influencing population quality and creating a burden for the family and society.

Article IX. Couples who bear only one child all their lives will be known as parents of a single child, and the child will be known as single child.

On assurance that they do not want another child, those who have adopted a child due to the death of another child or because of infertility will be issued a "single child certificate" and will enjoy the considerations of a single child, but will not be awarded health subsidies, nor will they enjoy other preferential treatment economically.

Parents of a single child and single child treatment will not be accorded under the following conditions:

1. A couple who have had more than two children but who have kept only one because the others were adopted by others;
2. In a second marriage, regardless of which partner, if one had a child in the previous marriage and another in the current marriage.

Article X. Late marriage and late childbirth is vigorously advocated. Marriage of males over the age of 25 and of females over the age of 23 is considered late marriage. Childbirth by females over the age of 24 is considered late childbirth.

The honeymoon period is extended to one month for all couples who both marry late. Maternity leave is extended to 100 days for all who qualify for late

childbirth and to 150 days for those who receive a "single child certificate" during maternity leave. While on maternity leave, cadres and employees will receive full wages and benefits. Pay increases, promotions and awards will not be affected. After delivery, female commune members in rural areas who secure a "single child certificate" will be registered according to the stipulated rest period work points. By guaranteeing production and work by the household and other management systems, husband and wife are forgiven that year's voluntary work.

Article XI. On joint application by husband and wife who have given birth to one child, have taken effective contraceptive measures and guarantee they will not have another child, on the verification of their unit's report to the commune (urban neighborhood office) and with the issuance by their county (city or district) of a "single child certificate," they will enjoy the following preferential treatment:

1. Single children of state cadres, employees and urban residents will receive annually a health subsidy of 23 yuan beginning with the year they received their certificate up to the age of 14. Those who do not receive 14 years of benefits because they secured their certificates late will not receive any supplements.

The health subsidy for single children of employees of state-run business and urban collective enterprises will come from the enterprise's benefits funds and retained profits. If there are real difficulties, with the approval of the county (municipal, district) financial administrative sections, it can be supplemented from enterprise management funds. In administrative and personnel units, it will be paid from employee benefits expenses. If there are real difficulties, it can come from the unit's administrative or personnel expenses. The health subsidy for the single children of the urban unemployed will temporarily be paid by planned parenthood expenses.

2. To reward single-child households, rural areas carrying out production and work guarantees by household may adopt the methods of increasing private plots, increasing the responsibility field by one person-share or lowering the norms for production guarantees. Some can pay the health subsidy from multichildren family levies. Production teams which have collected a large public welfare fund may also pay single-child health subsidies from the public welfare fund. With the approval of the county (municipal, district) people's government, at its discretion the state may supplement the necessary single-child health subsidy expenses for production teams whose average income is under 50 yuan.

Methods of providing health subsidies: when both parents of a single child are employed, the unit of each partner will pay one-half of the health subsidy; when one partner is a commune member or an urban resident without an employment unit and the other is employed, the unit of employment will pay the full amount; if one partner is outside the province and the amount of the health subsidy [in that province] is different from Gansu's, each will receive a portion according to the stipulations [of each province]; in cases where the health subsidy is entirely paid by one partner's unit, the other partner in the rural area will no longer receive the treatment described above; when both partners are

urban residents without employment units, it will be issued by the county (municipal, district) planned parenthood section in which they are situated.

3. All things being equal, single children can use their "single child certificate" for priority admission to day care centers, kindergartens, school and hospitals, and units which meet the conditions may avoid payment. Mothers of children under the age of one are relieved of night duty. All other things being equal, a family holding a "single child certificate" has priority in assignment to an urban residence or rural residence.

Article XII. Rural areas should actively carry out care of the elderly. The elderly who do not have a single child with them should be treated the same as elderly with no children and be provided conscientious care to insure that their standard of living is slightly higher than the average for people in their area so that they can spend their late years in comfort.

Article XIII. Advanced units and advanced individuals who have made evident achievements in planned parenthood work should be praised and rewarded (including material rewards). Units should make the implementation of planned parenthood policy stipulations one condition for choosing the advanced and assessing cadres.

Article XIV. The earliest possible remedial measures should be taken for all unplanned pregnancies to terminate the pregnancy; otherwise, depending on circumstances, the following economic sanctions and treatment will be meted out:

1. All cadres and employees (including employees of collectives) who are not dissuaded from unplanned pregnancies through education will have the wages of both partners stopped until the pregnancy is terminated.

For those who stubbornly have a second child, in addition to having their wages stopped without retroactive payment, the couple will have a 10-percent excess child expense deducted from their basic wages monthly from the time the child is born until he is 10. In addition, one salary adjustment and promotion seniority will be eliminated.

Those who insist on having a third child, in addition to both partners losing a salary adjustment, promotion seniority and deduction of wages for the period of the pregnancy, will also have a 15-percent excess child expense deducted from the wages of both partners from the time the child is born until he is 16. Those who have more than three pregnancies will have 5 percent excess child expense deducted for each additional child until the child is 16. During this period, neither partner will receive wage adjustments or promotions.

2. For all unplanned pregnancies, charges for examination, medicine and medical procedures during pregnancy and delivery will not be waived, and maternity leave wages will also be deducted. Couples who have excess children will not receive hardship subsidies, and excess children will not receive subsidized medical treatment or day care subsidies.



3. All cadres and employees who violate the stipulations of planned parenthood policy and through repeated education will not be dissuaded from having more children must be disciplined or administratively punished according to the circumstances of their cases. The right to approve punishment is reserved to units above county level.

4. All couples who do not carry out planned parenthood cannot be recruited for work and must be dismissed as contract workers, temporary workers and recruited workers.

5. For all those who have a second child after securing a "single child certificate" the certificate will be reclaimed by their unit, considerations appropriate to a single child will be removed, all single child health subsidies and other preferential treatment expenses already issued will be revoked, and they will be dealt with in accordance with the relevant stipulations on unplanned births.

6. Excess children of rural commune members will not receive private plots or residential land.

7. Other methods of rural reward and economic restriction will be formulated by county (municipal, district) people's governments according to actual local conditions and reported to administrative or zhong and municipal people's governments to be entered into the records.

8. For those who are engaged in individual industrial and commercial activity in either the city or the countryside, industrial sections can revoke their business permits before remedial measures to terminate the pregnancy have been taken and the pregnancy terminated. The permit can be reissued after effective contraceptive measures have been taken.

Article IV. The excess children expense levied by districts and units is to be managed under a special heading by people's communes, neighborhood offices, organs and enterprise units. Communes or neighborhood offices should send an accounting to the county (municipal, district) planned parenthood committee quarterly. These moneys can only be disbursed for planned parenthood and for no other purpose.

Article XVI. Controlling births should be mainly by contraception, supplemented by other effective birth control measures, and ideological education should be done before pregnancy occurs. To raise the quality of planned parenthood technical guidance work and the level of birth-control surgery, quality is first and so is safety of the patient.

1. After birth control surgery has been performed on a Yuling [5148 7881] couple, during the stipulated rest period, their employee wages will be paid by their unit without affecting full employment and bonuses. In case one needs the nursing care of the other, with evidence from the hospital and the approval of the unit leadership, wages will be paid for the period of nursing without affecting full employment and bonuses. After undergoing birth control surgery or taking remedial measures to deal with an excess pregnancy, a rural commune member, within a stipulated rest period, may be granted an allowance by the

commune or brigade depending on actual circumstances. In cases of real need, suitable consideration may be granted from social relief funds or excess children levies.

2. With authentication of the planned parenthood birth control surgery authentication team from above county level, any complications and consequences brought on by birth control surgery should be conscientiously treated by the health and medical treatment sections, and expenses for hospitalization and medication will be borne by the individual's unit. If there is no unit to pay these expenses, as verified by the department responsible for planned parenthood at the county or equivalent level, payment will be made from planned parenthood expenses. For loss or essential loss of labor which causes a hardship on a family's standard of living, apart from commune-brigade and neighborhood office consideration, help will come from the social relief funds of the people's government and the unit of the cadre and employee.

Article XVII. Planned parenthood cadres and medical service personnel should be models in implementing planned parenthood policy. Those whose violation of planned parenthood policy for private gain or fraudulent practices is serious will be given the necessary administrative discipline and punishment.

Those who destroy planned parenthood work by attacking and villifying planned parenthood personnel and activists and by stealing intrauterine devices must be dealt with severely. Whatever is a crime should be punished according to the law and the injured party compensated.

Article XVIII. Planned parenthood stipulations formulated in the past by areas and units played an important role in launching planned parenthood work. The issues which were dealt with in the past according to the stipulations are still effective. From now on, those which are in conflict with these "stipulations" should be revised in the spirit of these "stipulations" and reported to the provincial people's government for entry into the records.

Article XIX. These "stipulations" are usable by the Central Committee and units from fraternal provincial and district units in Gansu. PLA units in Gansu are to implement these stipulations in accordance with the methods formulated by the PLA.

Article XX. These "stipulations" are effective as of the date of publication.

16 March 1982

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## PARTY AND STATE

### REFORM CAMPAIGN SEEN AS TEST FOR DENG-HU GROUP

Hong Kong CH'I-SHI NIEN-TAI [The Seventies] in Chinese No 3, Mar 82 pp 10-11

[Article by Ai Nan [5337 0589]: "A Test for the Reformist Faction of the Chinese Communist Party"]

[Text] Deng Xiaoping, after his 1-month "disappearance" during the New Year, finally confirmed the complete renewal of the "revolution" planned while he was in the South. A series of signs have become clear; the campaigns to rectify bureaucratism, to have select troops and a simplified administration, and to punish economic criminals severely are to be developed simultaneously throughout China with great vigor and resolve; these campaigns are to be enforced with unrelenting determination.

#### Arrangements for the Campaigns, and Rumors

As early as August 1980, Deng Xiaoping in a Politburo conference on the 24 manifestations of bureaucratism had already recognized the seriousness of "the predicament that leading people is intolerable." More than a year later, he again exposed many problems and decided to carry out major surgery in 1982. At the beginning of January, the Secretariat of the Central Committee continually convened forums for senior cadres to expose broadly incorrect tendencies; at a mass meeting during the New Year, Li Xiannian suggested that the purification and simplification organizations and the strict handling of economically important legal cases were the two most important tasks for this year. On 5 February, they announced the arrest of the party secretary of the Guangzhou Telegraphic Bureau and the bureau head, Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842]. These incidents can be seen as mere curtain-raisers. Shortly thereafter, Vice Premier Wang Li discussed Deng Xiaoping's participation in making policy while in retreat at Erxian. The newly appointed first secretary in Fujian, Xiang Nansheng [7309 0589 5116], spoke about performing surgery on the nouveaux riches in order to expropriate their personal wealth. The central authorities also dispatched high-ranking officials in all directions to inquire about party conditions and to take charge of major cases. The news from Beijing was that central organizations were to be reduced by 200,000 excess personnel, with each organization to make large-scale personnel mergers, even to the point of reducing the 13 vice premiers to 2 or 3. In mid-February, Politburo member Wang Zhen, together with the six vice ministers of the Coal Ministry, announced their retirement. Aiming directly at various kinds of unfounded rumors, Vice Premier Bo Yibo told reporters that Deng Xiaoping

and Chen Yun are now leading this revolution for purification and simplification. When Hu Yaobang received Ding Zhaozhong [0002 5128 0022], he stressed the importance of these two major matters. Now the campaigns are developing even further.

At the same time, a rumor has it that while Deng Xiaoping was in charge in Guangdong, he had two important high-level criminals arrested, and that daily this attack is penetrating deeper and deeper to the heart of the problem. Rumors were rife in foreign trade units, while among the people [it was said] foreign trade had already come to a complete halt; a famous merchant who rushed to the capital was unable to sign a contract and had to return emptyhanded. The rumors also said that the central authorities earlier had intended to let Guangdong's corruption go until it became so rotten as to cause the fall of some cadres and only then to come put things in order.

Yet the people's universal caution has resulted from their fear that things would not be seen through to the end, and that there would only be a great deal of noise with little action. If the authorities only went halfway and then stopped, there would be interminable suffering afterward.

This eye-catching situation provoked new hope among people concerned about China's development, but an examination of previous experience and its complicated reality makes people feel that there are numerous problems and that the road ahead is going to be difficult.

#### What Is the Standard for Economic Crime?

The Chinese legal system is not complete; jurisprudence and administration are of a very flexible character, and injustices are often encountered. What sort of people will the campaign hit? This is what concerns people. The most recent reports have made it clear that cases like that of Wang Weijing or an even greater case naturally pose no problem, but is the receipt of a tape recorder or a television as a bribe to be regarded as criminal? This has not yet been clearly defined. The authorities obviously intend to implement a policy of "reducing the area of attack," allowing the strictness of disciplinary action to move toward the homily that "the law does not govern the masses." From the speeches and the Chinese Communist newspapers, people are entirely unable to see the distinction between what is illegal and what is merely improper, and they all still often consider that "violations of the law and disobedience of regulations" constitute only impropriety. This sort of thing could lead to confusing the boundaries between punishment and education. Moreover, this leaves abundant leeway for the subjective conclusions of leading party members.

The "expansion" that occurred in political struggles of the past from chaotic attacks and struggles, chaotic arrests and killings, was serious; now, with the development of struggles in the economic area, how are they going to prevent deviations of both the left and the right? We are unable to say whether they already have reliable experience. Although the Chinese Communists vigorously argue that the present case is neither a "rectification" nor a "campaign," the facts have already made it clear that this is a campaign. It is only a non-political campaign, however, with party regulations and national laws powerless

in the face of the daily more rampant illegal activities. They are only using an organizationally initiated model called "beating the tiger" as a way of attacking these problems. This is completely understandable.

### Three Grave Characteristics

For several years the spirit of the Chinese Communist Party and state has declined steadily. Within China this is already well known, while outside China there have been widespread rumors and discussions to this effect. As for the seriousness of this, Chinese newspapers recently have stopped concealing these things. Based on many other facts, we can see that these improper currents and crimes have the following characteristics:

The first is their extremely widespread character. Before the Cultural Revolution in the economy there were still many, from the party and government down to the intelligentsia, who were above corruption, who knew proper behavior and shame, and who saw money as something apart from themselves and did not prey upon others in its pursuit. However, after the changes over many years, viewpoints on virtue and values have produced deep-seated changes, with private [interests] overwhelming the public [interest], idealists being seen as "dirt," and fetishists serving to fulfill an empty spiritualism. This process has appeared not only among high-level cadres but also among the common people in the marketplaces; even those previously high-minded and morally righteous scholars have overwhelmingly failed to avoid the vile and the petty and have conformed to common practice and current fashion. With the receiving and giving of bribes as an example, almost all Chinese know that, regardless of whether one is handling a private or a public matter, if you do not have a "connection" and do not use the "back door," then the whole thing will come to nothing. These kinds of connections and back-door dealings help to preserve each form of bribery and mutual profit. Their widespread character has already reached the stage where they are considered a virtue rather than something to be ashamed of. Things have gone so far that even many grade-school students understand it all.

The second [characteristic] has been around for a long time. Since the Chinese Communist Party took power, the call for "rectification" has been repeated many times year after year without end; simplification and transfer have also been tried many times, yet evil practices have increasingly flourished. Organizations have become ever larger, and time after time, bullying cadres have become braver and more cunning. Therefore when the [authorities] wanted to correct them through punishment it usually became a case of "if a demon is a foot tall, then the correction is a yard tall," and the attempt would come to nothing. If the present alarm "becomes unbearable" it will really be the result of deeply rooted animosities.

Third, the hidden connections among cadres have reached a situation of extreme complexity, with mutual interests, origins, and political factions causing many cadres who are involved in illegal plots to be united in tangible and intangible groups that are more extensive than before. Cruelly and craftily, officials stick together, with the result that in many legal cases all the parties have a high official acting as their patron. Recently the more or less typical case of Wang Weijing dragged on for 2 years, proving the above point.



## Fundamental Causes

That these corrupt practices flourish is very serious, and we must get to their origin. The popular proverb "hunger and cold create the will to be a bandit" corresponds to the principle of "existing decisive consciousness," completely affirming the fact that the fundamental cause of the Chinese society's ills is the contradiction between the scarcity of goods in that society and the daily increasing demands of that society. The lack of productive forces leads to a universal decline in moral strength. Productive forces declined as a result of Mao Zedong's prolonged implementation of an extreme leftist line that slighted economic development and continuously manufactured "class conflict," while increased demand is closely related to the population explosion and the attacks of modern tides of thought on the patterns of traditional life.

One can discover in China many vivid proofs of this simple, materialistic explanation. In areas where a rationing system for meat has been imposed, a lowly clerk in a butcher's shop can become the object of bribes, as many people curry his favor. For a pitiable yet precious bit of pork he can solicit an endless, illegal trade. Once meat is "openly" supplied, this kind of phenomenon immediately disappears.

Naturally, one can find many other causes, but they are all secondary. Chinese propaganda experts do not want to recognize this fact, and they argue that during a period of warfare goods are scarce while ideological virtue is, to the contrary, extremely exalted. Regrettably, the people cannot permanently live in war; moreover, today's materialistic culture also exercises a universal attraction--attracting even those old fighters who had suffered for dozens of years.

This author is naturally unable to equate these unhealthy tendencies and crime, but these unhealthy tendencies nonetheless are without doubt the soil in which crime multiplies.

## Problem of the Existence of Simplified Organizations

The forging ahead, in disregard of trifles, with the campaign for select troops and simplified administration in order to promote administrative efficiency reveals the Deng-Hu faction's determination to pursue reform. But the corruption of this huge nation's machinery has already reached the point where it will be very difficult to reverse; it manifests a kind of protective instinct to resist any innovations. We must not underestimate this in the slightest.

The purpose of simplifying organizations is to conquer bureaucratism and increase efficiency. What guarantee is there that in the degree of simplification, all the needed cadres will be retained? Simply speaking, the time for carrying out this simplification is not very long. First, there is the surface problem of how to weigh the importance, or lack thereof, of "virtue and ability." To one-sidedly investigate "political behavior," including the "family's class status"--this being the way of the extreme leftist cadre--has been the fatal weakness in the 30 years of the Chinese Communists' utilization of people. The consequence of this is that "the brazen bell is smashed and discarded; the earthen crock is thunderously sounded"--an approach that produces a good deal of ignorance that will call only mediocre talent into politics, will completely block each level of an organization's leadership, will mislead the country, and will harm the

people. Generally speaking, under Chinese Communist rule, talented people's so-called "political qualifications" are comparatively lacking, and because of this, they suffer in each period from the phenomena of transfers and simplification. Those who are skillful in seeking their own advantage, those past masters at giving others a hard time, and other shameless whores, on the contrary, make meteoric rises. Will people with those kinds of roots believe that this simplification will produce any other result?

Even were they to carry out this simplification under comparatively unbiased conditions, it would still discourage people. Recently, rumors from several regions indicate that people are apprehensive. The reality heretofore has also been like this. If one recalls that in the past, the universally chosen method of punishing those who were guilty of "committing errors" was transfer to hard labor or fundamental reeducation, then one can understand that simplification and transfer, even if they are gloriously named, are nonetheless not a matter apt to please people. The reason for this lies in the great difference between city and country in China, with the out-of-the-way suffering in the country while the cities are comfortable. This coldblooded comparison reduces revolutionary ardor to nothingness.

Because of this, every time there is a transfer campaign, it is accompanied by open and covert fighting, and usually several hidden contradictions are exposed and even deepened. Furthermore, some leaders take their revenge, using the campaign as a good opportunity to serve themselves. Thus it is naturally difficult to produce positive results. Because personal animosities have reached the point of making a business of the decision to transfer or not to transfer a person, this has become in many cases an important reason why simplification has proven fruitless. Moreover, once a campaign has run its course, there are those who are able to use anything to cause their own organizations to be enlarged.

In this instance of a campaign for crack troops and simplified administration, the best that can be hoped for is that the remnants of the extreme left will receive a blow and a purging, and that some superfluous personnel will be reduced. But one dares not be too optimistic about whether or not "cleverness" can be achieved. If there is not a fundamental reform of the existing system of working groups and the supporting system of human customs, then the simplification of forms will not improve matters in the end.

#### Prospects for Rule of Law

Although the legal system is still not in good order, the method of speedy and determined enforcement of the law is useful in resolving the necessity of a number of pressing problems. When all is said and done, however, this is still the same old campaign style that was popular during the time of Mao Zedong--even though that style has historically been proven to be a poor method for governing the country. The style of governing in Western countries is far from perfect, but their rule of law indisputably provides a fertile source of reliable experience for Eastern countries, though they have no need to belabor their leaders and motivate the masses in a campaign so that, in response to the shameful news that a minister or a prime minister has taken a bribe, they can apply legal

sanctions that cause the malefactor to resign from office as a gesture of self-approach. Although recently there have been few appraisals by the Chinese of Western law, why would it be difficult for them to establish their own legal system?

It is a long story, but one other important cause is the mischievous point of view that "one who makes an empire should then rule the empire." Brought together under this point of view, in their "discussion of merits and demerits," are many men who have distinguished themselves in war and thus now are enjoying the privilege of that special leniency that results from "merit that can overcome guilt." In reality, they refuse to recognize the general principle that "all men are equal before the law." This writer believes that the Chinese Communist Party, under the reformist faction headed by Deng and Hu, has the determination to bring to an end permanently the tradition that "one who steals a country is made a lord, while one who steals a fishhook is executed"--which is to say in this instance that the various lords of the Southern Sea will all climb Jingyang hill and assume a posture of getting to the heart of the matter, even though this author knows that the way to resolve the causes of these unhealthy tendencies lies in the law. But the people's problems are worse than a fire, and it is necessary for the people to be given a forthright appreciation of the project of removing evil.

It appears that this instance of beating the tiger will be unable to resolve contemporary problems or to hope to overthrow the "imperial stars." Rumor has it that the only way they will be able to attack the vice ministers is by strictly preventing their promotions. We hope we can reach the level equal to the victories enjoyed by Liu Qingshan and Zhang Zishan, for then we would all be able to rejoice fully.

Yet to do this obstructs and frightens only to a degree; one would expect that the aged Wu Sung's would also want to subdue all layers of obstructionism and would not fear tearing apart people's sensitivities. This is a test of their boldness and prestige.

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